

THROUGH AN INDIAN CAMERA

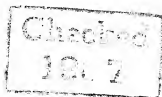
BY

SIR ALBION RAJKUMAR BANERJI

M.A., C.S.I., C.I.E.

*Formerly of the Indian Civil Service
Ex-Dewan of Cochin, Mysore, etc.*

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PREFACE

SINCE my leaving the responsibilities of office after a long and strenuous administrative career, I have devoted my energies for a period of ten years, of travel (1930-40), to the study of human problems in many countries. I also gave considerable time and money to establish a quarterly journal in London—*Indian Affairs*—during the most controversial period of the Round Table Conference which culminated in the enactment of the Government of India Act of 1935.

My activities were prompted by a genuine desire to probe into the difficulties of the Indian problem, irrespective of party loyalties or leanings, and my spare time was also devoted to the study of questions affecting the future stability of the world before World War No. 2 which came in 1939, and the signs, regarding which were traceable in world events as studied by me during my travels.

A period of ten years is, no doubt, a good slice of time during which events have followed in quick succession but, in the collection of speeches and contributions that appear in this volume, there will, I hope, be found a continuity in the trend of world events which I have attempted to discuss as they appeared to me through my camera. I make bold to say that many of my prognostications have come

true and many of the problems I only foreshadowed vaguely have, during this period of one decade, assumed formidable proportions which today are baffling the post-war statesmanship of all the nations.

The sum-total of the positive character of these writings may be little, but if they have struck home into the most sensitive and vital part of world politics, even though the attempt is narrow being primarily based on the Indian standpoint, I will have some satisfaction that by recording my thoughts I have made a contribution, however small, towards realising the grave dangers that were looming on the horizon and also the probable dramatic results of world dislocation which subsequently has come over the whole world as an aftermath of the war. The camera pictures point to what was in store for the coming generations and how best the catastrophe that has overtaken the world could be met and mitigated.

BANGALORE, }
March 1946. }

ALBION R. BANERJI.

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**"Great Britain and India"—Problems of Indian
States—Article in the "London Spectator"
July 1930**

The Viceroy, in his speeches to both Houses of the Legislature at Simla the other day, announced his intention of discussing the future constitution of India with the ruling Princes and the representatives of the States. It is a matter of common knowledge that neither the Princes nor their State-subjects regard the proposals made in the Harcourt-Butler Committee Report and the Simon Commission Report with any enthusiasm. With due deference to the pronouncements made in these two historic documents, it is to be stated that the main problem connected with the Indian States has been only partially investigated, and we are no nearer to a satisfactory solution than when the Montagu-Chelmsford Report was written. In the concluding chapter of that famous report, the joint authors drew a picture of India as a sisterhood of self-governing States, including Indian States. Today, although by common consensus of opinion any constitutional change for British India must have due regard for the position to be assigned to Indian States in their relationship with British India, neither the Butler Committee nor the Simon Commission have suggested any clear-cut scheme for the purpose.

Sir Reginald Craddock's *Dilemma in India* expressed the thought of a particular school amongst the leading pro-Consuls, that self-governing institutions of a democratic nature are just as unsuited to the people of the States as to the people of British India, and although the Ruling Princes say that they welcome democracy for British India, they do so because they do not wish to be thought antiquated despots and believe that they would gain Parliamentary support by appearing enlightened and anxious for democracy over the way. This school of political thought has never ceased to emphasize the principle of holding British India and Indian States together under British control.

It is quite clear to those who have carefully followed the trend of events in India as a whole, that an attempt is now being made to solve the Indian States' problem by adhering, as far as possible, to the aforesaid principle. Take, for example, the recommendation of the Butler Committee, which proposes the Viceroy and not the Governor-General in Council as the agent in all dealings with the Indian States, with advisory committees to be appointed by him, representing both Indias when interests clash, making the Secretary of State for India the final authority. The Simon Commission, while admitting that the "States cannot be compelled to come into closer relationship with British India than exists at the present time," has only expressed the pious hope

that a new constitution "should provide an open door whereby, when it seems good to them, the Ruling Princes may enter on just and reasonable terms."

A faint outline, indicated in paragraph 22 of the Simon Commission Report, of a Federation for all India, leaves matters very much as they are, especially in view of the extension of powers to be centred in the Viceroy as the Head of the Central Government, who is expected to assume a personal control over the two Indias, one of which is to be democratic, and the other autocratic in regard to their internal form of administration.

For any kind of Federation, as the Simon Commission have clearly indicated, there must be a federal legislature, a federal executive, and a federal finance, and none of these has been made a part of their scheme for the future constitution of India, the only practical suggestion being the creation of a standing consultative body to be called the Council for Greater India. I would like to indicate the main difficulties that will stand in the way.

The present-day problem in regard to Indian States is not merely that of defining the status of the Indian Princes with reference to the paramount power, but chiefly, if not entirely, the adjustment of relations between the Government of British India and that of the Indian States, irrespective of the constitutional position of the agent which conducts such govern-

ment. The position and status of Indian Princes, however important, should not be allowed to obscure the greater issue, namely, the larger interests of the States themselves.

The reforms that have been introduced in British India and those hereafter to be introduced cannot but create a keen desire on the part of the subjects of the Princes to take a larger share in the administration of their country. The conflict between the autocratic power and the personal rule of the Princes in the majority of the States and the necessity of so reforming their governments as to allow the transfer of at least part of their authority to constitutional agencies is, perhaps, keener today than it has ever been in the past.

In developing the federal idea, the Simon Commission do not appear to have considered the differences between the individual position of the Princes and their governments. In other words, in a scheme of federation with British Indian provinces, which will be autonomous, it will be the States that will be the corresponding units and not the Princes. His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner, in a speech delivered after the October pronouncements of the Viceroy did, in a sense, recognize these differences when he stated that "Federation is a word which has no terrors for the *Princes and Governments of the States.*" If there is to be a federal union, it has to be with a big State or a group of States, and the main

difficulty will be how individual sovereignty of the Princes within their States can be included.

My own view is that, as matters stand at present, Federation between the British Provinces and the Indian States is impossible, and can only be regarded as a practical proposition when the Princes divest themselves of individual sovereignty and introduce Constitutional Reforms in the government of their territories. Are we therefore to wait an indefinite period and allow the two Indias to run along their own lines of advance, and is it possible to make the Viceroy the chief central authority for the Indian States and the Governor-General a similar functionary in relation to British India? There will be insuperable difficulties in concentrating both the functions in one and the same person, and a time may arrive, as soon as Dominion Status is granted, when there will be two such central authorities: one, that is the constitutional outcome of the democratic form of government, namely, the Prime Minister responsible to the Legislature, and the other the Viceroy, who should remain as the Representative of the Crown, as in the Dominions, and continue his present functions with reference to the Princes and their States. Upon these considerations a federal executive cannot at present be established, including the Indian States and the sovereignty of the Princes; a federal legislature is out of the question, and it naturally follows that any agreement on federal

finance is not within the range of practical politics.

Having before us the examples of failure in the attempts made in the past history of India, both by Hindu and Mohamedan kingdoms, towards over-centralization, great caution is needed at the present time, and unless and until the Indian States' problem is further investigated and the Princes and their States constitutionally represented in a Royal Commission for the presentation of their case in regard to this vital question, it is far better to leave them and their States alone and to take up the question of Constitutional Reform in British India separately as was done on the previous occasion a decade ago. The Princes would be ill advised to throw themselves into the vortex of political controversy at the Round Table Conference next autumn.

**Lecture on "Indian States and the Federal
Constitution" at the King George Hall, Y.M.C.A.,
London, before the Ceylon Association of London
March 1931**

While it is quite true that the Princes have played a great part at the Round Table Conference by agreeing to come into the Federal Scheme for the whole of India and thus surrendering their position of isolated grandeur and so-called internal sovereignty—whatever that may mean—and while admitting that their attitude of co-operation in the work of framing the new constitution rendered it possible for the Conference to come to a unanimous resolution regarding Dominion Status with safeguards and reservations, one must not forget that not one section of the Conference has as yet fully realised the implications and obligations involved before the Federal Structure can be actually built up on a solid and sure foundation.

The Conservative sentiment has welcomed this movement amongst the Princes as it believes in the imperative necessity of stability in the Government of India as a whole which is to be based on the Western model of Democracy. The Princes are now at least the majority of them autocratic, and the less liberal-minded amongst the consultant groups, naturally infer that the participation of the Princes

in the Federal Constitution will give it that weight and provide the check necessary against any break-neck policy that may be adopted by Politicians in British India. The Princes themselves have acted not without self-interest. They have much to gain and little or nothing to lose which is of any consequence at present. Their people are clamouring for more voice and representation and for the introduction of constitutional methods. They are now handicapped owing to want of suitable machinery for satisfactory disposal of matters of common interest, especially those connected with fiscal relations between the Government of India and the States; and lastly their present mode of government and isolation within a free united India with full responsible government will be a source of danger to themselves and their future.

The people of British India, on the other hand, welcome the offer of the Princes to join the Federation for more than one reason. The ideal of a United States of India—a goal distant and difficult of realisation according to the belief of every authority that has discussed its possibility, *e.g.*, the Simon Commission, Government of India, the Butler Committee, etc., has become possible in the immediate future and the people of British India can make use of the influence of the Princes if given an honourable place in the Federal Structure, for the solution of many difficult problems. Without this desire being

declared by everyone of the Princes participating in the Conference, the Conservative and the Liberal sections would not have agreed to the principle of responsibility at the Centre and then there would have been no agreement at all. It was also felt that the welfare of the 70,000,000 of the Indian States' subjects will be better safeguarded even though the Federal Government have little or nothing to do with the internal affairs of the States; for the general levelling up of the administration throughout the whole of India must be a necessary sequel to the Federation of States and Provinces under one central authority.

Now let us consider the other side, *viz.*, the implications and obligations which are sure to present numerous difficulties when the constitution is drawn up in the form of an Act of Parliament.

From the Princes' side they retain their Sovereignty, their dynastic questions, their own personal status, and other allied matters, and their full jurisdiction over their internal affairs subject to such rights of supervision and interference as the Paramount Power now exercises over them. Even in regard to this they desire a certain amount of freedom and while not allowing themselves to be governed by the Federal Cabinet of the whole of India, they wish the Viceroy to be the person to whom shall be referred questions arising out of all reserved matters. Then again they do not want to interfere in the affairs of the Indian Government outside their

States. All this will surely create anomalies for sharp lines of demarcation as to what are matters of joint interest and what are not—what are purely matters of internal administration and what are not will be extremely difficult to lay down. Police, Excise, Irrigation, Railways, Ports, even Public Works such as Trunk Roads, Frontier Bridges, Waterways, Canals, Rivers, Public Debt will surely be federal subjects up to a certain point. In other words, federation of States with Provinces can only be possible if the status of the Provinces is the same as those of the States in the Federal Structure, *viz.*, full autonomy within and the Federal relations without. This necessitates surrender of certain sovereign rights which the Princes now enjoy. This, in fact, is clearly emphasised by the Federal Structure Committee of the Round Table Conference for they say “the process of federation will involve the creation of a new State which will derive its powers in part from the powers which the States will agree to concede to the Crown to be placed at the disposal of the new federation.”

Then again, representation of the Provinces in the Federal Legislature will be by those returned through the Electorates set up; whereas Representatives of the Princes will be their own nominees. The subjects of the States will remain unrepresented and voiceless; how far the Princes will so safeguard their own interests as to also safeguard the interests of their subjects through their nominees is a question.

Secondly, how is it possible to federate 562 States even grouping the small ones together? The Federal idea is based on voluntary acceptance and cannot be embodied as such in an Act of Parliament as a fully developed scheme, although the Federal Structure Committee of the Round Table suggest that provision should be made for subsequent entries from time to time. It becomes easy to build up the Federal Structure to function if all the 562 States agree to join the federation at once but even then each case has to be dealt with, due regard being had to individual treaties, conventions and Sanads thus safeguarding treaty rights as required by the Princes and also conceding other privileges and prerogatives under the federal principle. It is obvious that a Treaty Revision Committee for each State or group of States must be set up to reconcile these divergent interests. This cannot be done all at once and the British Indian Reforms should not be held up on that account. The inconvenience and anomaly of some of the larger States coming in and not all and most of the smaller States refusing to merge their separate existence by grouping have to be faced. Federation of all the States with British India is only conceivable only if the larger States and group of smaller States follow the same constitutional methods of government more or less, and adopt a similar method of selection of Representatives through the Federal Chamber. Further security of life and property and impartial

Judiciary, a fixed Civil List and establishment of some form of Representative Government suited to local conditions of each State are *sine qua non* before these territories can be raised to the dignity of federated units. The federation of British Indian Provinces on the one hand and the States on the other, is not a federation between Provinces and Princes but Provinces and Indian States' territories and the Princes will have to surrender their present position and cannot have it both ways when they join the federation. In a recent book on Indian States and British India, by Prof. G. N. Singh of the Benares University, the difficulty is explained in the following extract.

"The great difficulty in the way of Federation between British India and the Indian States is the prevalence of almost feudal conditions and the existence of personal rule in the States. As Lord Meston has rightly pointed out, federation "cannot cause oil and water to mix. Canada and Australia are federations logical in structure though different in type. But what type of structure are we to find for a federation which is to unite Provinces under a democratic parliamentary system with the States governed by absolute monarchs?" It is no real answer to this question to quote the opinion of Sir Frederick Whyte : "The fact their governments vary in character and present great contrasts to the Provinces is irrelevant. There have been federations of political units possessing very different forms of government and there is no reason why there should not be again." It

is really difficult to know as to what examples Sir Frederick had in mind but all the modern Federations without exception consist of States or Provinces with similar democratic type of government. Even in Imperial Germany States had more or less similar type of government. And one of the important and necessary conditions laid down for membership of the League of Nations—which is yet not a Federation—is that “the nation must be a fully self-government State, Dominion or Colony” (Art. 1 Covenant). Indeed, it is obvious that there can be no real friendship or co-operation for any length of time between democracies and absolute monarchies. Moreover, I do not know of any responsible person, whether a leader of the people or a Ruler of an Indian State who is prepared to justify today irresponsible rule. The establishment of Responsible Government is the chief aim placed by the Indian States’ Subjects’ Conference before itself and the impact with British India and the development of responsible institutions therein is bound to add impetus to the movement for self-government within the States. So the adoption of democratic government in the States is ‘a mere matter of time ; but, it is necessary to point out, that until that time comes—let us hope it shall come soon—there can be no federation between British India and the Indian States.”

This is not the only difficulty. If the representatives of the States sit in both the Chambers in the Federal Legislature with a full voting power on all questions, how is their number to be fixed ? What parties will they belong to ? Will the State repre-

sentatives form a State Party and can a leader of that party form a Cabinet as Prime Minister for the whole of India? If not will not that State Party often be in the minority and the large interests of the States be then unprotected in a democratic form of government? If there is to be responsibility in the Centre, even all-India questions in which many of the larger States are vitally interested will be decided by the British Indian Majority. Take for example, the case of the Cauvery dispute between Madras and Mysore. The Madras Legislative Council will surely have decided against Mysore if they had power to decide the question. This danger has to be faced. There is also the apprehension that Indian States, for the most part, represented by Hindu Ministers, may join forces with the Hindu Majority in the Federal Legislature and thus prove a serious danger even with the existence of adequate safeguards to protect the interests of Minorities, which are declared to be essential as a condition precedent to the agreement given by such minorities at the Round Table Conference. Anglo-Indians will have no one to voice their claims from amongst the Indian States Representatives. Everything, therefore, depends on the nature of the grouping amongst the representatives sitting in the Federal Chambers and how they are returned. Both British India as well as the Princes demand reservations and safeguards. The Conservative and the Liberal sections of the Round Table agree to the

Federal Structure only upon definite assurances being given regarding reservations and safeguards from the purely British point of view. The danger is that at the time of filling in the details of the skeleton plan drawn up at the Round Table Conference there will be serious divergence of opinion. So far as India is concerned putting aside for the moment the attempt that is being made in England to create a sharp cleavage of opinion over the recommendations of the Round Table Conference, it is necessary that every attempt should be made by the Princes on one side to work out their side of the scheme and the representative of British India on the other to work out theirs, and only when agreement is reached by both, have another Round Table Conference in London to fit in the details with the main federal idea regarding which all are so far in general agreement.

Lecture on "The Need of Spirituality in Politics"
before the Theosophical Society of England, London
March 1932

I shall take as the text for my address a few sentences from the Foreword written by Romain Rolland to the book *The Dance of Siva* as a fitting introduction to the observation that I wish to make:—

"There are a number of us in Europe for whom European civilisation no longer suffices—dissatisfied children of the spirit of the West, who feel ourselves cramped in our old abode, and who without depreciating the subtlety, the brilliance, the heroic energy of a philosophy which conquered and ruled the world for more than two thousand years, nevertheless have had to confess its insufficiencies and its limited arrogance. We few look towards Asia!".....

"The Western world, abandoning itself utterly to its search of individual and social happiness, maims and disfigures life by the very frenzy of its haste, and kills in the shell the happiness which it pursues. Like a runaway horse who from between his blinkers sees only the blinding road before him, the average European cannot see beyond the boundaries of his individual life or of the life of his class, of his country, or of his party. Within the narrow pale he imprisons of his own will the realisation of the human ideal."....

It is significant that only a selected group amongst the representatives of the West could see through

centuries of misty investigation the real meaning of spirituality as it is understood in the East.

By spirituality I do not mean spiritualism, nor do I mean the blind adherence to the dogmas, tenets and the rituals of the different religions of the world, nor do I define spirituality by religiousness as an attribute of the human mind. There is no doubt the tendency to combine spirituality with religion in the sense that a man who is without religion cannot be spiritual. But when I chose the title of my address I had in my mind the attribute which the Creator has implanted in the human soul, the attribute of pursuing something nobler and higher than the mere material advantage which can be secured by developing the bodily emotions and satisfying the worldly desires. In fact, I would make spirituality synonymous with humanity in its larger sense. It does not presuppose in the belief in a personal God, but it does presuppose a faith in the destiny of mankind and in some fixed purpose in the universe in which so far as we know man has evolved as the supreme force in nature endowed with a spiritual personality.

During the past two thousand years or more the materialism backed up by science and goaded by researches into the inner secrets of nature has taken the very soul out of the ego, which, though growing more and more individualistic, has nevertheless been driven from a higher plane to a lower level of mere material progress and consummation.

Turning now to politics, here I do not use the word in a restricted sense, but apply it in a wider meaning, namely, the activities of the State not merely in administration, which means government of the people, but also in organising human society under a system which will conduce towards orderly progress and improvement. Politics, as generally understood, means activity of some selected representatives of the nation whose sole aim is to exercise power over their fellow-beings, and whose energies are entirely devoted to securing that aim under a restricted system of party organisation founded on narrow and limited conceptions of political duty and political faith. Politics, as I intend to illustrate in the course of my address, should embrace not merely the party aims and aspirations of certain groups, but the comprehensive scheme of social government and social development which will necessarily embrace within itself the fundamental duties of State craft and State administration; it should embrace social services, social uplift, educational reforms, industrial reorganisation with a view to increase economic wealth of the country as well as the earning power of the individual. It should not confine itself to political dogmas and shibboleths which, as we have seen in the political warfare that is waging in different countries today, contradict each other so much so that the man in the street often asks, whether there is any unity of

purpose in so-called politics as they are preached from the platforms and in the Parliaments of Nations from time to time.

Politics today have degenerated into a mere struggle for supremacy of a certain principle of government which particular groups consider as the most beneficial or the most suitable for their own ends. The greatest good of the greatest number, which necessarily involves unification of all the broad principles under a common banner, could not be successfully achieved under such a system. Nor can there be that unity in the mind of the Nation when different schools of politicians preach different doctrines only to bewilder the citizen and make it impossible for him to decide about his vote. Party allegiance, loyalty to traditional connections of the past, family and vested interests play a great part in politics today, so much so that one can almost venture the statement that there is no genuine sincerity in the profession of the average politicians, and political faith is like a chameleon turning its colour to suit changed conditions not only amongst groups, but also in individuals. Such an unstability in the political atmosphere does not make for progress although this condition is inevitably the result of the system under which modern political institutions have to work.

There was one notable exception to the condition I have just described, namely, the formation of

the National Government in England as an emergency measure to tide over the economic crisis. Even subsequent to the formation of such a government dissenting members of the Cabinet were allowed the freedom to vote against measures which the majority decided upon, and such an unprecedented change of policy in the constitution of England could never have been dreamt of say ten years ago. There is, therefore, hope even now for countries like England, which can cast aside party prejudice and personal loyalties they have inherited through their allegiance to their party leaders. Analysing the situation closely one can discern true spirituality in the psychology of the nation which prompted, in spite of everything against, the harmonious co-operation of peoples of all parties to save the nation from going under.

Great politicians of Europe,—there have been a few during the past quarter of a century,—have had true spirituality in their mental outlook, who often laboured in vain for the emancipation of the soul of the nation from the fetters of material aims and aspirations. Compare the late M. Briand, who passed away a few days ago, and whose greatest contribution in the whole of his political career towards the solution of the European economic problem,—was the conception of “The United States of Europe”. Could anything be more spiritual than such a conception directed against the selfish

material interest of individual nations, or groups of nations.

My theme is, therefore, to connect the two essentials of political progress in the Nation by emphasizing the need of the true spirit of humanity conceived in its broadest sense with politics as a science which has to be pursued not for its own ends, but for the end of bringing humanity up to a higher level. This can only be achieved by developing in the mind of the Nation spirituality, as it is understood in the East, spirituality of conception, spirituality of aim and spirituality of action. This spirituality is totally dissociated with material aspirations.

I will now attempt to illustrate what I have said before with a few examples.

At the present moment the whole of Europe is troubled with momentous questions such as Disarmament and Reparations and the Sino-Japan Conflict. The British Empire within itself is divided into hostile camps in connection with the question of protection and free trade. India and the Dominions are gravely concerned with the problems of the mother country in so far as they affect their future welfare and status. In the Far East the dragon of war is now attempting to raise its head over the waters of the Eastern Seas which surround Japan now boasting as one of the finest Eastern product of Western civilization. China on the other hand, is just slowly moving its extremities, as it were, of

its mighty body after a slumber of ages, and no one can predict the consequences of her awakening. America with all its vaunted democracy and its assured prosperity and wealth, is now faced with a collapse of her industrial system. As an aftermath of the War, the structure of society in every civilized country is undergoing vast and far-reaching changes, changes which can be foreseen as overtaking most countries of the West in future years, when one studies the gradual development of Bolshevism in the whole of Russia.

Try and analyse all these conditions and covenants in your mind and attempt to find the link between the material and spiritual side of nations' endeavours and ideals. Will not the question arise as to whether far too much a preponderance has been given to materialism, so far as nations' security and welfare are concerned, and little or no regard is being paid towards the soul-force of mankind, towards its spiritual cravings and aspirations which all lie smothered and buried under the debris of a tremendous weight of stone which has fallen from the jerry building of the West.

If these questions find a satisfactory answer, then the next problem seems to be how to reach a solution that would bring a *rapprochement* between the material and spiritual sides of mankind, for it stands to reason that, unless such a *rapprochement* is possible, the centre of gravity of the whole world

will move to a position that will destroy civilization itself.

Hence the need of spirituality in present-day politics, a need which is the greatest possible need in Western countries, rather than in those of the East. If the Western countries fail to recognise this need at this hour of their severest trial and misfortune, then the East will again have to show the waving hand of guidance and inspiration to the West, as in ages past, by its inborn spirituality, which they have preserved, maintained and are daily practising in all the affairs of their own national welfare and concern. Such a guidance may come forth into the world in the form of a new Buddha, or a new Christ, or a Krishna to reveal spiritual truths in new forms to suit the conditions of a moribund and a material civilization for the solution of man's problem of happiness and salvation.

Let us for the moment dwell on the tremendous changes that are coming over Russia to see to what extent political forces of that vast country are being welded together by the inner spirit of man.

Through centuries of oppression the inner spirit of man's independence remained dormant up to a point and then rose hydroheaded in the Revolutionary movement during and after the War that led to the establishment of the U.S.S.R. as a working form of government. The Russian music, their opera, their drama and their art—have shown considerable

leaning towards spirituality. At the moment it is, no doubt, a puzzle, how in spite of such a tendency the material ideal for the emancipation of the people,—independent of any religion or belief in anything beyond our material existence,—has secured such a stronghold in the minds of the Russians, a hold that enables them to make supreme sacrifices. One view is that the facts of the Revolution and the establishment of Bolshevik Rule over 160 million people, are all for materialism and a little or nothing for spirituality.

Every movement connected with the Five-Year Plan, all the slogans of Russian propaganda, the nationalization of every kind of living and material force in the land, aim for the most part, at the destruction of the individual and the merging of his personality into a bigger whole—the State, of which he forms a part subservient to the general policy of the State.

Religion plays no part, the influence of priests, the organization of churches—have disappeared, anti-religious museums are being multiplied, and it would appear that all over the country, all the energy, enthusiasm and devotion to public duty, are directed towards the creation of Heaven on earth as the *summum bonum* of life and the belief that there is not life after death.

Is this view based on a correct perspective of the great Bolshevik Movement and is it not permissible to foresee at some future date the transformation

not only in the general outlook of Bolshevist philosophy, but also in the methods pursued? If there is no religion in Russia today, in one sense there is a robust faith in the principles of the Revolution, there is a tendency to establish new temples and erect new idols for worship. And in course of time there may be a new religion sprung in Russia which will clothe the material skeletons of its present-day conceptions of human life and endeavour, with the flesh of human feeling, passion and emotion, constituting thereby a new faith and a new religion presided over by a new Divinity.

My firm conviction after a very cursory examination of conditions in Russia is that, although there is no religion in Russia on the surface there is a tremendous undercurrent of spirituality still amongst her peoples which the authorities in power are trying to smother, but which is bound to assert itself against the State unless the State recognizes it as a means for reconstructing the form of its government altogether under a new plan. There shall be untold suffering amongst these millions for a time, and this is due to the cruel movement of killing the inherent spirituality that lies dormant in every human being. And the sooner the fact is recognised that no form of society can be built up to exist and develop ignoring spirituality in the sense that I have sought to explain—the better it will be for the future welfare of the Russian people as a whole.

Now let us turn to the Fascist Movement in Italy under the dictatorship of Mussolini. In his biography he says:—

“It was necessary to create a political atmosphere which should allow men in Government to have some manner of courage to speak harsh truths to affirm rights only after having exacted duties, and to impose, if necessary, those duties.”

He adds:—

“Today with the highest loyalty Fascism understands and follows the Church and its strength. Fascism gives impulse and vigour to the religion of the country, but it will never be able for any reason to renounce the sovereign rights of the State and the functions of the State.”

After years of misunderstanding we see today the great *rapprochement* between the Vatican and the Head of the Fascist Government in Italy. In spite of its rigour and its iron will for efficiency and order, the movement has a strong current of spirituality within itself which no one who had the privilege of meeting Mussolini face to face can ever fail to discern and recognise in his wonderful personality.

Such a movement, as founded in Italy, does not run the danger of losing hold of the peoples' imagination or the peoples' emotions and sentiments. On the other hand, it stands the chance of becoming stronger and stronger and receiving fresh impetus and momentum as time goes by.

We may dwell for a moment on the great American Continent. Here again we see the same phenomenon,—the feverish tendency to advance the material side of man's existence, and the shaping of all the energies of State and Government towards this sole object with the result that Capitalism developed in its worst form with its multimillionaires, extravagances and luxury in social life. Standards of living rose beyond the dreams of avarice, corruption in politics and in public life was no negligible factor in the political life of the nation and amongst the agents of the exercise of sovereign power by the State. The Almighty Dollar became the new God, and Wall Street with its appendages became the new temple where it was worshipped.

Highly developed scientific methods have been conceived by those criminally bent, and murder and pillage have been converted into a fine art ; gangsters and kidnappers have succeeded in drawing the frenzied attention of the whole world by their daring deeds against life and property.

Here again the inner spirit of man rebelled, and in this country we see the growth of numerous religious cults, associations and organisations like mushrooms living but a day here and a day there. We see also both amongst men, as well as amongst women the inner craving for spirituality, a yearning desire for something restful, peaceful, which they, blindfolded, attempted to seek in every kind of

mysticism, especially the vague mystic philosophies of the East, as they generally appear without proper study and understanding to the West. One can never cease to wonder at the influence exercised by women like Amy McPherson in California, who as an evangelist preacher, succeeded in making thousands of converts through her ways of religious thinking.

This reaction has produced a band of preachers and lecturers throughout the length and breadth of America, some of whom are imposters bred and brought up in the atmosphere of the Almighty Dollar. Those genuine leaders of thought, no matter from which country they came, secured a hearing and an applause which was almost unprecedented. Compare, for instance, the great reception of the Indian leader Vivekananda when he first went to America. It is needless to mention Tagore whose reception was universal throughout the world. Will the present American civilization, which is based on this instinct of hunting for the Almighty Dollar, or, in other words, the big game of money-making for money-making's sake, last for ever, and is not there the chance of things turning turtle, and after the present economic crisis has subsided will there not be a readjustment of human forces at work in the United States, according to which the spiritual side of life will receive and find its due place in the scheme of things conceived by the American people for the betterment of the whole American Continent?

Let us now for a few moments turn our eyes to the East. The great Sino-Japanese Conflict is in the minds of all civilized peoples at the present time. Why has this great conflict suddenly taken place, no one could have foreseen the conflagration twelve months ago. No one could have believed that two great peoples coming more or less from the same Mangolian stock, brought up under the same Eastern culture and philosophy,—should spring upon each other like two inveterate enemies. There are, no doubt, divergent political views as to the rights and wrongs of the dispute,—and it is no concern of mine for the purpose of this address to discuss them,—but it is necessary to point out that Japan today is a vivid illustration of the great modern tendency of running politics without spirituality. Japan is the only Eastern nation which during the last 70 and odd years, has developed the Western system of materialism which always presses for expansion and exploitation at the expense of weaker neighbours,—materialism partly brought about by increase of knowledge in modern science and inventions, materialism, the sole object of which is greed for power and greed for wealth and opportunities for the Nation as a whole. The equivocal assurances of Japan at the League are an eloquent testimony of this attitude of a mere soul-less politician.

The Japanese people have a new kind of religion and that is this extreme form of national patriotism

which allows no interference even of the League of Nations for the expansion of Japanese interests in the Far East.

Is it not this that has caused the Americans to withhold their promise of independence to the people in the Philippine Islands? Is it not this that has brought about a conflict of interests between the two sides of the Pacific Ocean? If every nation can, the very moment they are able to use force, encroach on their neighbours for material gain and advantage, then the whole world will turn into chaos, especially today, with its wealth of knowledge of scientific inventions as means for destruction.

Thus we see that China is now the victim of Japan's militarism as India was the victim of Western Powers in the early part of the 18th century, for exploitation. Nothing will stop Japan from securing Manchuria, she needs expansion. China is weak, disorganised, she has vast undeveloped territories, enormous natural resources and she has not yet gathered up her national forces to utilise them to the fullest extent.

The material forces of the world today are, generally speaking, on the side of China and against Japan, but that is not going to make any difference, and because this is so, we have the constant danger of war in spite of all that the League of Nations may do. Disarmament, Reparations, likewise are questions which, looked upon from the purely material-

istic point of view, will never be solved for the general good of mankind and universal peace throughout the world. There may be few honest politicians who have got the courage of their convictions and state what they feel, but the majority of them assembled at Geneva are not free to act and can but give expression to futile doctrines for appearance's sake while their own country is arming itself to the teeth for fear of aggression on the part of its enemies.

France ever suspicious of Germany, and Germany crushed down by the cruel economic fetters under the Treaty of Versailles, international opinion in regard to the Franco-German susceptibilities and general apprehensions regarding the settlement of future economic relations of Europe at large,—all contribute to a general instability of politics at the present day, which is a menace and a danger to the future peace of Europe. We all know that every country is preparing itself for war, we all know that however broadminded and national an outlook is attempted to be created by the general efforts of the League, individual nationalism is rampant more today than in past European History.

Briand's great idea of a United States of Europe was a spiritual ideal but ridiculed by those, dragged down to earth by materialism as the sole aim. The great statesman, than whom after Briand there was, perhaps, no more vigorous political personality in Europe, was endowed with great spirituality which

was remarkable in every one of his utterances and every one of his political actions.

There is not hope or chance for a correct appraisal of the forces that are at work in the inner councils of each nation without the introduction of the true spirit of humanity which must assert itself in some form or other at this present crisis, either through the agency of a great prophet, or a great international leader. Whether he is to come in the near future one knows not; probably, within the next few years a leader may come forward from Bolshevik Russia, who knows, and between such influences welded together at a moment of supreme crisis, Europe may be saved from a catastrophe towards which it is moving faster and faster every day.

Asia is sure to play, through the strength of spirituality of some of the Eastern nations, an important part in this struggle. Even small and unimportant countries like Persia, Turkey have awakened and have attempted to remodel their national destinies by a true blend of Eastern and Western conceptions of State Government and State Policy. They have not discarded their inherent spiritual feeling in regard to the treatment of human beings and in regard to the treatment of national politics. The present Shah of Persia, through dint of courage and force of great personality, brought the whole nation behind his back and introduced drastic reforms in the Government of his country, a country,

as in all Eastern countries, where the King is divine, and kingship and loyalty to the Throne are almost matters of religion to the people. By tremendous soul-force he was able to bring order out of chaos in his country.

Life and property are more secure in Persia today than they have been during the last 100 years. Kemil Pashah in Turkey is a similar instance. Without spirituality in the sense, as I have explained, Kemil Pashah could have had no chance in overthrowing the Turkish Sultan. Kemil Pashah had to fight against the orthodox doctrine of *Islam*, but without spirituality in the truest sense he could not have overcome the blind prejudices and superstitions which surround the mystic institution of the Kaliph amongst the Moslem communities of the Near East. Amunullah followed the bend of spirituality, but lacked the practical commonsense to translate his ideals to results,—hence his regime in Afghanistan came to an abrupt end.

Now I turn to India which, though a part of the British Empire, is a vast country in Asia with a vast population amongst whom are the descendants of those leaders of thought and culture and social science for more than twenty centuries in the past. In India we are now being driven, as in Japan, towards the fetish of political power and political opportunities, the sole aim of which is to gain material advantage. Independence is in the blood of

man, however desirable an object, is only secured through sacrifice, struggle and through the degree of strength to maintain the independence when once secured. But the desire for independence is to be coupled with the desire for unity, toleration, co-operation amongst all classes of the people, without which there cannot be any strength to keep what one gains through the struggle for the mere abstract idea of independence.

Indians today, represented by the Congress Party, are going through heroic struggles for this abstract idea, not caring for those principles of spirituality which will enable them to be strong and powerful to be able to hold their independence for themselves once they have got it.

Gandhi's great ideal of non-violent civil disobedience, although spiritual in a sense is material in its practical application, and, therefore, not spiritual ideal at all. Once asked, why he is driven to politics without spirituality, at a gathering in London recently, he replied that it was no use aiming at spirituality with an enslaved body, and even Christ bore the cross to free his body from the oppression of those in authority. But I venture to think that this interpretation will not bear examination.

I, for one, cannot see how the freedom of the body from any kind of bondage, without the mind, being endowed and charged with spirituality, can be of any avail to any country in the world.

The influences of all religions in India today are waning, the desire for ancient culture, the desire for toleration and the spread of universal brotherhood, which we had noticed about fifty years ago, have decreased. There is more enmity, there are more sectarian jealousies, and there is more rivalry as between Province and Province due to a narrow conception of Indian nationalism, and all such tendencies can only be attributed to the lack of spirituality, or rather to the wane of the spiritual sense amongst the Indian political leaders of the present day,—so unlike Gokhale, Tilak and many religious and social workers who went before them.

Take the instance of Ram Mohan Roy and Keshab Chandra Sen, the leaders of modern India, and those that went before them and after in the consolidation of new thought and new religious groups, like Nanak, Chaytanya, Kabir and Ramakrishna and compare these Indian heroes with the present-day leaders, who sat as the representatives of the country at the last Round Table Conference. It is sad to reflect that one and all are devoid of the spiritual sense. At the Round Table Conference each wanted to stick to his guns, and would not budge an inch to understand the others' point of view which was necessary for the common good of the country as a whole.

The latest news about the Hindu-Muslim enmity and the spread of the gospel of hate between community and community, in spite of Gandhi's weak

propaganda of non-violence and reconciliation,—are further illustrations of the total lack of spirituality in the Indian present-day politics.

There was at least no one leader who could have by his commanding spiritual influence brought about an adjustment of the differences, which after all were trivial, compared with the great issues at stake. Even Gandhi with his magnetic personality sitting at the Conference made no solid contribution towards the solution of the Indian problem and in that respect, I think, he has caused a grave disappointment to the whole world. Now, when many of the so-called leaders of the Congress are in prison and when the rest are half-heartedly with a lukewarm enthusiasm co-operating with Government in their endeavour to find a practical solution, I fear, that the whole structure of the future edifice of political reform in India is being built on sand. Unless and until our peoples fail to realise the imperative necessity of reverting to their own natural and instinctive sense of spirituality which has through centuries past actuated their Kings and their political leaders,—there seems to be no real hope for the satisfactory solution of the problems that we have to face in that vast country. There seems to be no chance of the settlement of the communal problem for instance, or the settlement of the Untouchability question, let alone other differences relating to the Princes and their subjects, the women's franchise,

and discriminatory legislation so far as the foreigners are concerned. In all these questions the broad sense of humanity, and not a selfish fever for immediate material advantage can lead the way towards our goal.

Looking at every country of the world and judging the present-day political problems from every possible standpoint, one feels that our political leaders are only groping in the dark, are aiming at this or that measure for the amelioration of sufferings that we see prevailing everywhere,—and are only persuing the shadow overlooking the substance.

So, without being unduly pessimistic, one feels with dread and trepidation that the modern world is going to face a terrible crisis till the time comes for a rude awakening of the spiritual sense of mankind through which will arise a new order of things, and perhaps, civilization may—after the destruction of all its material armoury and its weapons forged through selfish ends for the discomfiture of opponents and enemies,—itself be destroyed and the world will start again under conditions of primitive simplicity and with the inborn natural desire for more lasting benefits for humanity at large, which all the Prophets of the world have preached during the past several ages for the regeneration of mankind.

**“The Problem of Kashmir”—Article in
“The Nineteenth Century and After”
August 1932**

The State of Jammu and Kashmir covers an area of 84,471 square miles. Excepting a strip of level land along the Punjab border, it is almost entirely mountainous, and can boast of some of the grandest scenery in the world. It has a total population of about 4 million souls. Its geographical position, as well as its political status amongst the Indian States, is of very great importance to the future political and economic development of India as a whole. The State till recently has not attracted so much public attention as it deserves. The tourists visit Kashmir in large numbers from all parts of the world every summer to enjoy its natural scenery, its wonderful climate, and the abundant facilities it affords for all kinds of sport. In rank the Maharaja of Kashmir holds the fourth place amongst the Indian Princes, but, the people being backward in education and the country being undeveloped, the great possibilities that this tract of country possesses have not as yet been fully realised, either in India or abroad.

The ethnographic and the political history of Kashmir is most interesting. Over 75 per cent. of the whole State population are Moslems and the remainder chiefly Hindus. The Moslems have been

as much in the shade as Hindus are in States ruled by Moslems. Sir Francis Younghusband in his book on *Kashmir* says:

"The inhabitants were not, however, always Moslems. Originally they were Hindus. It was only in the fourteenth century that they were converted—mostly by force—to become Moslems. The present indigenous Hindus of the valley are generally known as pandits, and Kashmir pandits are well known over India for their acuteness and subtlety of mind, their intelligence and quick-wittedness."

The ruling family is an alien in Kashmir, as he comes, not from the valley itself, but from Jammu. Mr. Biscoe, who has worked for over thirty years for the Kashmiris, in his book, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*, describes the Kashmiris in the following terms:

"The ordinary Kashmiri such as I have known for thirty years is a coward, a man with no self-respect and deceitful to a degree, and I perhaps may write with a clear conscience, for I have told this to all classes of them to their faces times without number, and, to give them all credit, they never resent it, because they know it is true. Kashmir has been conquered and reconquered by invaders, who have murdered, oppressed and enslaved their ancestors, and so ground the life and heart out of them that their better selves have been crushed."

It will obviously be beyond the limits of this article to give an historical account of several successive dynasties which ruled over Kashmir. Sir Francis Younghusband says:

"The normal state of Kashmir for many centuries, except in the intervals when a strong, firm ruler came to the front, was a State of perpetual intrigue and assassination, of struggles with brothers, cousins, uncles, before a chief even came to the throne; of fights for power with ministers, with the military, with the 'nobles' when he was on it; of constant fear of poisoning and assassination; of wearying petty internecine wars, and of general discomfort, uncertainty, and unrest."

The Moghuls conquered Kashmir in 1586, and their rule was fairly just and enlightened. With the decay of the Moghul Empire, Kashmir fell once more into wild disorder, and when in 1750 it came under the Afghans the oppression of the Hindus was at its highest. Forcible conversion to Islam made many leave the country, and a number of Hindus were killed. It was Raja Gulab Singh of Jammu who saved Kashmir from the Afghans, and it was he who founded the present ruling dynasty. Under the Treaty of Lahore the Sikhs ceded to the British the provinces of Kashmir and Hazara, and the British in March 1846 signed a separate treaty with Raja Gulab Singh for which they transferred and made over Kashmir to him after receiving payment of 75 lakhs of rupees (then about £ 750,000). Before Raja Gulab Singh acquired actual possession, however, he had to apply to the British Government to aid him to establish his rule. At that time the economic position of the country was deplorable. The Government took from two-thirds to three-fourths of the gross produce

of the land, corruption was rampant amongst officials, and the Government held a monopoly in the sale of grain. During the time of Gulab Singh's successor, Rambir Singh, considerable improvement was made in the administration, which was further developed during the time of the late Sir Pertap Singh, and Sir Walter Lawrence, as Settlement Commissioner, rendered the most signal service to the Kashmiris. The revenue demands of the State were fixed in cash, and its share was also greatly reduced. Sir Francis Younghusband in a significant conclusion to the historical chapter in his book says:

"The history of the people has shown that there is latent in them much ability and taste, but that they have always prospered most when most subjected to the influences of the great world outside Kashmir. Those influences are now strong upon the country, and the future prosperity of the people will very largely depend upon how they meet and profit by them. Needless to add, a weighty responsibility lies also upon the British Government that it should guide their destinies aright." Sir Walter Lawrence in his book *The India We Served* gives a graphic account of the State of Kashmir when he went as Settlement Commissioner in the following words:

"My object was to encourage the peasants to cultivate their fine land, and to restore the land revenues of Kashmir. The object of the pandits was simply to take the best of the land and to force the Moslem cultivators to work for nothing. The wicked system of forced labour

had ruined the country, and as I settled in each division of the valley the revenue that the villagers were to pay, in cash, and not as heretofore in kind, not to middlemen pandits, but to the State, I set free the villagers from the crushing exactions which were enforced by the privileged classes under the tyrannous system known as Begar."

When Sir Walter Lawrence was working in Kashmir the Maharaja had been deposed temporarily, and a State Council was appointed with Raja Amar Singh, father of the present Maharaja, as President, and during the latter part of the late Maharaja's reign the present Maharaja was the Senior and Foreign Minister.

The foregoing brief historical summary is intended to convey to the reader the several vicissitudes through which this beautiful country has passed. And if, as Biscoe said, the manhood has been crushed out of the Kashmiris through centuries of oppression, how is it that they were able to organise themselves and forcibly to resist Sir Hari Singh's Government in a manner which has necessitated a general overhauling of the whole administration from top to bottom? No ruler of an Indian State inherited such a wonderful legacy of a kingdom fraught with such momentous possibilities from his predecessors as Sir Hari Singh. Personally endowed with great energy, shrewd commonsense, and a fine personality, the present Ruler had immense opportunities of bringing contentment and happiness amongst the

miserable people of Kashmir, both Hindu and Moslem, who have been morally and materially depressed for several centuries.

During the past twelve months events in Kashmir have attracted a great deal of public attention, and at one time the situation in Kashmir, as well as in Jammu, was so serious that it became necessary for the Ruler to seek military assistance from the Paramount Power to deal with the troubles that arose in respect of his internal administration. Early this year there were many wild rumours of his abdication and much speculation in this country as to the genesis of these troubles. Since then the situation has become easier owing to certain changes in the personnel of His Highness's Government, the introduction of British officers as Ministers, and the appointment of two Commissions of Inquiry which sat one after the other in quick succession—one presided over by Mr. Middleton, of the Indian Civil Service, and the other by Mr. Glancy, also of the same Service, the main object of the investigation by these two Commissions being to inquire into the grievances of the people, and to suggest remedies. Owing to the violent nature of the disturbances last year, in the course of which there were serious conflicts between the State Forces and the people, and the serious aggravation of communal trouble that took place subsequently, His Highness's Government were compelled, after all the resources at their disposal had

been exhausted, to apply to the British Government for help and advice. In the exercise of power at the disposal of His Highness every available means, both in the civil as well as in the military organisation of the State, had been utilised. As a last resort, the Kashmir Troops being unable to cope with the situation, the British Troops had to be requisitioned from the Punjab. A wave of discontent almost akin to religious fanaticism prevailed amongst the Moslems in British India, who organised bands to march into Kashmir with the ostensible object of helping their co-religionists, who were believed to be labouring under serious disadvantages. The Middleton Commission devoted its attention primarily to the rioting and mob violence and the alleged excesses on the part of His Highness's military and police forces, but, as this inquiry did not give general satisfaction, His Highness appointed a second Commission to inquire into the grievances of his subjects and to suggest remedial measures. Both Moslems and Hindus were represented on this Commission, but the Hindu members subsequently withdrew. Mr. Glancy, who is an officer of the Political Department of the Government of India, and had some years ago official connexion with the State as one of its Ministers, was Chairman, and had therefore considerable local experience. The Sikhs, who constitute a minority in the State, were not represented, but they took their grievances direct to the British

Prime Minister, Colonel Colvin, who was recently appointed in succession to the Hindu Prime Minister, Raja Sir Hari Kishen Kaul. This gentleman is a Kashmiri pandit with a brilliant record in the Punjab Civil Service, and he was appointed Prime Minister during the disturbances of 1931, when the Maharaja felt powerless to direct affairs as his own Prime Minister. This appointment did not satisfy the Moslems, who demanded his immediate removal. The Maharaja, however, did not then comply with the request, although he made a change a few months later, and appointed a British officer as his Prime Minister.

The Glancy Commission gives the public an idea of the nature of the long-standing grievances through its voluminous report. It shows an impartial inquiry into the complaints of both the Hindus and the Moslems, and deals with matters which for the most part affect the social and economic status of the Moslems in the State. These matters, however, do not appear to be connected with the direct causes that led to the serious disturbances last year, although some of them may lie at the root of the discontent and bitterness caused by the general policy of the State in regard to the liberty of the Moslems, and the proprietary rights of the agriculturists. The State records of the past five years will show, however, that His Highness's Ministers have on various occasions

dealt with many such questions in an advisory capacity, but the people knew nothing about the recommendations, which never saw the light of day or reached the stage of final decision. With the experience I gained in two years in Kashmir as Foreign Minister, I have reason to state that the patient and law-abiding subjects of His Highness of all classes almost came to the brink of despair owing to procrastination, uncertainty, the want of decision and the intrigue in the public administration of the country. The fact was that the administration was so over-centralised that it gave an unlimited scope to corruption and injustice, thereby causing grave hardship, due in part to the slow grinding of the machine. The rising in Kashmir, therefore, is not so sudden an explosion as many people are led to believe, nor has it anything to do with the Pan-Islamic Movement. It is partly the repercussion of events in British India, but mainly the result of the cumulative effect of many curious anomalies and anachronisms in the administration of the State. Though in some matters the Maharaja showed great industry and expedition, the flood overtook the Government when it was least expected, to come down in torrents in the same manner as the rains from heaven caused the whole valley of Kashmir to be flooded with such serious loss of life and property in 1928. It must be admitted also that the Maharaja did not always take the advice of his

constitutional advisers, and thus ignored the very sound counsel of Lord Irwin given at a State banquet during his Viceroyalty, that the Rulers, once they appoint their Ministers after careful selection, should repose absolute trust in them. It is a matter of common knowledge that in regard to many of the grievances of the people, especially those relating to the form of government, the retrenchment of extravagant expenditure, the absence of facilities for representations by the people, the corruption in the public services, the inadequate facilities for the education of the masses and the impartial recruitment to the State services of all grades, the Maharaja was continuously kept informed of the needs of the administration. But he preferred to follow the line of his own judgment.

One of the untoward political events in Kashmir in recent years was the disciplinary action taken by His Highness against those who were instrumental in presenting a petition to the Viceroy when he visited Kashmir in 1926. Two of the most influential Moslem jagirdars were deprived of their places in the Durbar and their property was confiscated. It was after repeated representations from these individuals, and also considerable agitation in the Press outside Kashmir, that His Highness was persuaded to cancel his order and restore the privileges as well as the jagirs to the aggrieved parties. The feeling that was roused amongst the Moslem

inhabitants of the Kashmir State by this political act was minimised at the time, but it had a far-reaching effect on the minds of the Kashmir Moslems as well as on their co-religionists in British India. Owing to the enforcement of a rigorous control over the Press and also over individuals who contributed articles in the Press, there was no possible opportunity for the ventilation of popular grievances within the State, with the result that most of the public agitation was conducted outside the borders by an irresponsible Press in the Punjab. His Highness's Government made it a deliberate policy to exclude from circulation all newspapers printed in the Punjab that contained any criticisms of his administration. This act might not unreasonably have been applied in occasional specific instances owing to the personal nature of the attacks on the Maharaja, but its general application was resented by the Moslems of all classes, by landlords as well as by agriculturists and artisans. His Highness must be credited with the best of intentions and with a very progressive and enlightened policy, when one considers some of the measures introduced by him during the first three years of his rule. But even these measures failed to recognise local conditions. Grave hardships resulted from their sudden enforcement, and corruption and intrigue were brought into play amongst the officials, who were entrusted with the enforcement of the measures

without adequate supervision and control. The Ministers had really no power over the officers working under them, for the Maharaja continued to be his own Prime Minister till the disturbances broke out. Yet he could not possibly attend to the volume of routine that was submitted to him or to the larger problems worked out by the several committees of Ministers which he set up for deliberation and advice.

Last year, when the Round Table Conference was holding its session in London, some of the influential Moslem delegates showed considerable concern in regard to the internal situation in Kashmir, and even gave expression to opinions which caused an alarm in the minds of their fellow Hindu delegates, as if the whole agitation were due to a Pan-Islamic Movement. In that connexion correspondence was published in the British Press, and I then took the opportunity, with the knowledge of the local conditions in Kashmir, of removing this misapprehension, and published in the *Manchester Guardian* a letter from which I may with advantage give the following quotation:

"The Kashmir subjects of His Highness are the most simple-minded and law-abiding people in the whole of India. They are easily governed and have laboured for centuries under the influence of the Kashmiri pandits, whose brain dominated the affairs of every village in the valley. The people are illiterate and economically depressed. If there is any general dissatisfaction owing

to long-standing grievances, the Moslems outside can have no direct hand in its expression. The Kashmiris are not in close touch with their co-religionists outside Kashmir. They do not read newspapers, being illiterate, and the Press in the State is under strict ownership. The few Lahore newspapers that ventilate Moslem grievances have, rightly or wrongly, been interdicted within the State as being personally hostile to the Maharaja. Whether Pan-Islamic propaganda exists in Western Asia or in other parts of India itself is a question that does not arise, though with my study of some of the conditions of Moslem countries during my travels I am inclined to the opinion that it is a mere bogey raised by mischievous people aiming at the disturbance of the peace of the world."

To sum up the position so far as the internal administration of the State is concerned, an impartial observer may, perhaps, without prejudice, judge the present Maharaja, not as the cause, but the victim of circumstances. Be that as it may—and on this point opinions may differ—the Kashmir administration has now virtually passed into British hands, and although the British Government intervened, not *suo motu*, but at the request of the Maharaja, a grave question involving a new precedent which has now been established arises—namely, is the Paramount Power, after the grievances of subjects over a period of years have been disregarded, to come to the protection of the Ruling Prince, and stand between him and his subjects when they rise in protest? The policy of

non-intervention was first laid down during the Viceroyalty of Lord Minto in his famous Udaipur speech. If the Princes want a minimum of interference, and yet when they are in trouble with their people they invoke the aid of the Paramount Power, wherein lies their sovereign authority, and when they enter the Federal Constitution, will they not be mere pawns in the game under the new Constitution?

There is, however, a more important aspect of the Kashmir problem generally overlooked, and this has special reference to the frontier policy of Kashmir. The frontiers of Kashmir abut on five sovereignties, including three empires. The foreign policy of the State has been, till the accession of the present Maharaja, more or less under the direct control of the British Government. The political agency at Gilgit has been entrusted during the past several years with the important duty of watch and ward over the frontiers and of carrying out the policy of conciliation in respect of border chiefs, some of whom, but not all, are in a position of subordination to the Kashmir Maharaja, and who are without exception Moslems. In the past a spirit of co-operation between British and Kashmir authorities has characterised policy in regard to the frontiers of Kashmir, though the direction lay with the British. Even the financial expenditure has been divided between the two in the proportion of half and half. Latterly there has been a tendency in the State to

assume a greater responsibility in regard to Kashmir's frontier policy, to belittle the importance of chiefs, and thus some unrest has been caused within this area, which is a source of danger to India as a whole. This subject is of sufficient importance for public discussion in India, but neither the Government of India nor the Kashmir Government has ever given it the publicity which it requires. History may perhaps prove one day that the determination of such matters of policy *in camera*, and without instructing the public, has been lacking in statesmanship and forethought.

There are many matters connected with the Kashmir frontier which are necessarily secret, but there are others which can be studied with reference to public documents and treaties. I will refer only to the latter to indicate the necessity for revision of the frontier policy of Kashmir, a necessity which will be obvious in the light of the recent disturbances in the State, and the unrest which prevails outside its borders. Having visited Russia, and also studied the problem of Soviet influence in Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan and China, I have reason to believe that Soviet influence is bound to increase in Central Asia, and has to be carefully watched. A weak internal Government in Kashmir is therefore sure to act and react on the frontier. No more statesmanlike policy could have been pursued by Lord Willingdon's Government than to strengthen the hands of the

Maharaja by lending him competent British advisers to assist him to govern. It is hoped that the frontier policy in the State will soon be brought in a line with the general British policy of guard and defence, conciliation and maintenance of good-will with friendly tribes and chiefs over the Kashmir border, who should be encouraged and helped to rally as real allies and friends both of the British Government and the Maharaja of Kashmir. This can only be done by a revision of the existing arrangements relating to the Gilgit Agency, and by placing the frontier policy of Kashmir beyond the jurisdiction of the future Federal Government. The formation of Soviet Republics in Central Asia and the developments in the Russo-Chinese and Afghan borders have to be constantly watched. Judging from recent experience, it seems imperative that full British control should be provided for, and the British military expert authority, and not a joint agency as now exists, should be invested with this responsibility under a new treaty, to remain unaffected by the new Federal Constitution that is shortly coming into existence in India. Another alternative that suggests itself is that the whole of the Gilgit Agency might be transferred to the North-West Frontier Province. There are grave dangers that have to be guarded against of the spread of Bolshevik influence along the Kashmir frontiers which abut on Afghanistan, the Russian Pamirs, and Chinese Turkistan. Unrest

amongst the frontier tribes and chiefs over the border, many of whom are under the suzerain authority of the Kashmir Ruler, should be guarded against. When the Gilgit Agency was established in 1877 the principal object was 'to collect and enable the British Government to obtain early and authentic information of the course of events in the frontier districts of Kashmir, and to establish friendly relations with the communities of the frontier'. The effect of the recent internal troubles in the State on the frontier chiefs and communities can very well be imagined. The allegiance of the small frontier States to the Kashmir Maharaja will soon be an historic fiction, unless the whole position is reviewed in the light of recent events. In a recent book on the problem of the North-West Frontier Mr. C. Collin Davies has exhaustively dealt with the menace from Central Asia and considered all questions affecting the defence of India as having a very important bearing on the political problem. The urgent problem of Kashmir, which is an all-India problem, is to give the subjects of the Maharaja a just and firm Government and adequately to guard the Kashmir frontiers. The Kashmir Rulers have not been able to provide these at any stage during her past history, and now the repercussion of the communal differences in British India are having a further disturbing effect upon the people. 'A weighty responsibility lies on the British Government that it should guide their destinies

aright.' No truer words were said. The State administration has now virtually passed into British hands, but how long such a situation can continue without violating the very principle of autonomy, the essence of the Federal Constitution, is the question. The frontier policy of Kashmir and the adequate protection of Moslem interests are delicate problems. One cannot be blamed if the lessons of Kashmir are quoted as the strongest justification for the conclusions of the Simon Report, both as regards the Federal Plan and the Communal Problem.

The greatest of Indian patriots, Gokhale, said that the attainment of a democratic form of self-government depends on the average strength, character and capacity of the people. The problem in Kashmir is being further complicated by the promise of a Legislative Assembly on a democratic basis and the appointment of a Franchise Committee, when these very requisites which Gokhale emphasises—namely, universal elementary education, the improvement of the condition of the peasantry, higher education, the building up of the industrial strength of the country, and the promotion of closer relations between different communities—are lacking. Kashmir today is half a century behind any British Indian province, and some of the advanced Indian States. Its geographical position is a problem by itself, and through the gradual weakening of British power in the Indian sub-continent Kashmir will be more

than ever subject to the same vicissitudes that have blotted her history and marred her progress before the advent of British rule in India. The only solution of the Kashmir problem is a new treaty between the Maharaja and the British Government under which the frontier defence is transferred entirely to the British, thereby ensuring an effective resistance to all foreign aggression and internal intrigues with foreign enemies. Without these being safeguarded, India will break up as did the Roman Empire, federation or no federation. Internally there should be an exclusive Indian Raj in Kashmir as in all other Indian States, and no compromise or temporary sacrifice of the vital principle which governs the general policy relating to them. Dual responsibility for autonomous States must end in a ghastly failure. Indian States should be allowed to work out their own salvation or pass out of existence if the Princes fail to justify themselves in the eyes of their subjects. It is, indeed, interesting to speculate what the future Federal Government in India will do when such justification is lacking—deposition or annexation?

**Lecture on "Finland" before the Anglo-German
Circle of the International Club, Richmond in London
October 1932**

In these days when international understanding is of paramount importance, especially because each nation, big and small, is attempting to develop a narrow and restricted form of nationalism, it helps us in the task of understanding the points of view of different nations of the World, if we study their geographical, ethnological, social, religious and political conditions. Hence it is that before the Anglo-German circle, I chose Finland as an appropriate subject to discourse upon although for many reasons I would have preferred to talk about an Eastern country.

Finland known as the land of a thousand lakes, is one of the most interesting countries in Northern Europe. For nearly 800 years it belonged to Sweden, but during the early part of the 19th century it came under the rule of Russia as an autonomous if not independent State. The history of Finnish Independence is the most interesting one, to this I will refer later. As regards to size, Finland is greater than the total area of the British Isles. The Capital of Finland is Helsingfors, with nearly 200,000 inhabitants. Abo which used to be the former Capital till it was destroyed by the fire, is the second city, and

then Viborg which is the largest centre in East Finland.

The growth of the population of Finland has been remarkable. In 1750 there were 421,537 inhabitants. Within a century the population increased to 16,369,15 and in another 70 years it increased to 33,648,27. There is something fascinating about the Finnish Race, but both as to the nature and culture, Finland claims to belong wholly to the Occident. Political union with Sweden gave origin to the intellectual culture of Finland, and some think that, there is nothing oriental about Finland, but personally I discovered many traits of similarity and kinship amongst the Finnish people with the Orient. This, perhaps, can be explained when one traces the genealogy of the Finns. The Finnish people are supposed to have sprung from a stock divided into two branches, one of which produced Hungarians. And at one time the Finnish Race dominated over the fruitful tracts of central and Eastern Russia. The Finnish branch itself is divided into four sub-families, Baltic, Finnish, Lapps, Volga Finns, and Permians.

It is a matter of conjecture what the origin of the Finnish language is. Some scholars think that it is related to Mongolic and Turko-Tartaric, but it has not been possible to determine the original home of the Finnish people. They originally led semi-nomadic existence, and hunting and fishing

were their chief occupations. The Finnish people had very interesting traditions and customs in ancient times, for instance, there was an interesting custom of marriage by capture. At midnight, the bridegroom's father put a crust of bread spread with honey on the gate-post of the house from which a girl was desired, and then approached a window, and courted her on his son's behalf. If he afterwards escaped, without being caught by the girl's father and his friends, the courtship was regarded as binding. The Bride was conducted to the house of the Bridegroom by a festal procession. The Finnish people in ancient times sought help and solace in life from two sources, their dead, and the spirits of nature, and the worship of the dead held a more important place than that of the spirits of nature, especially amongst the hunting people. All nature was believed to be life, so much so, that it was thought that trees, inanimate objects, had a soul. This affected the ethics of the people who held that home life must be peaceful and harmonious, otherwise the spirit of the house might get angry and move away when life would become joyless. Then again, inanimate objects were thought to need food and strength occasionally. Thus the sickle was fed after the harvest with the words "sickle take strength. The whole summer hast thou worked, we have given thee thy share, do not touch our share".

Belief in a life after death was shown by the

custom of supplying the dead with food and other necessities, and people worshipped their own forefathers. The agricultural Finnish people seemed also to have worshipped idols at one time, and to have sacrificial Chambers. The idea of an all-powerful God of Heaven is of late origin, and came first from the influence of Christianity. The name of this deity meant the sky, and to the agricultural peoples he was considered to be the bringer of thunder and rain. This conception is exactly similar to the Vedic idea of the primitive Aryans, who dedicated their Hymns to the forces of nature. The ancient religious service of the Finnish consisted principally of sacrifices of blood, inanimate objects, and food. Another important functionary of religious life was the wizard, who used his knowledge and skill to heal the sick, and discover stolen properties. The essence of his art was a power to work himself up to an exalted condition, by beating his drum, when he finally lost consciousness, fell into ecstasy, and fell to the ground. Then his spirit was liberated from the shell of his body, and journeyed to Heaven. It is needless to say, that all these beliefs and customs are very similar to those of the Ancient Hindus.

It was in 1809 that Finland was connected with Russia as Grand Duchy, enjoying the widest autonomy. Finland proclaimed her independence on December 6th, 1917, and she has now a House of

Representatives, and an entire administrative system. It became a republic in 1919. Legislative power was jointly vested in the Diet and the President. The Diet composed of 200 members is elected by universal suffrage for a term of three years. Then administration is in the charge of the President, and the Council of State, the President being elected by a college of 300 electors for a period of 6 years.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

The distribution amongst the population of Finland is about 65% agricultural, 4% industries, 3% commerce and 17% other occupations. The most common form of agriculture is small farms. Wheat, rye, barley, oats and potatoes form the most important staple crops. Of course, the forest resources are very rich in Finland. Extensive fellings take place in the south of Finland, for export to foreign countries. The total number of pulp cellulose, and paper factories was 103, and their total production was 222,000 tons of mechanical pulp, besides cardboard, newsprint and other papers. Owing to the keen competition, caused by the dumping of Russian timber in all the countries, there has been a general slump in this line of industry, which afforded a market for the various products of Finland and the Finnish people are greatly concerned at the prospect of being deprived of a large value of their export trade.

SOCIAL CONDITIONS

In social life great importance is attached to the family as a unit, and great interest given to family affairs. The Finnish people are great individualists, and the young child's life grows up in the home, and there is no direct influence of school-life. Finlanders of all classes are very fond of music, they have developed the concert sense. They have also a love for the drama, but the Finnish character has a sombre aspect, as distinguishable from the superficial gaiety of Southern Nations.

A few words must be said about Prohibition in Finland. This was a post-war legislation, according to which the sale of all alcoholic liquors was prohibited except by a chemist on a doctor's prescription. Beer containing 2% of alcohol was the strongest drink which was allowed. It is interesting to know that this law was passed by the first single Chamber Diet in 1908, owing to the influence of the woman voters, but the Russian Government refused to ratify it, and it did not become effective until 1922. The Finlander has always been a hard drinker of spirits, distilled from corn or potatoes, the Swedish Brannvin, and the Russian Vodka. The coast of Finland surrounded with islands is ideal for smuggling, and it was customary for those who could not buy smuggled liquor to ask their doctor to write a prescription for them, or to go to a chemist to get a mixture of absolute alcohol, water and spices. As

we all know, by a majority of votes, the Finnish Parliament has rescinded this law, and it was formally abolished on the 5th April last, the day I arrived at Abo, to deliver a lecture there that evening.

THE FINNISH NATIONAL MOVEMENT

When the war broke out, Russia tightened her grip over Finland, and this gave an impetus to the movement which resulted in the Civil War, and the declaration of Independent Finland as a Republic. In Autumn 1914, the idea of complete independence took a definite shape, and plans were formed for national effort, and also for obtaining outside help. 200 reliable young Finns were sent to Germany for military training, and this number gradually increased to 2,000. The enrolment of volunteers also went on successfully, and all this was kept a dark secret from the Russians, although the whole country was under the supervision of Russian soldiers. When the Russian Revolution broke out, and the Soviet Government was established, some negotiations took place to recognise the independence of Finland but did not materialise. Hence we come to the War of Independence, which was organised by the Commissariat of the people, headed by Manner formally Speaker of Parliament. There was a struggle between the Red and White Armies, and finally on May 15th and 16th, the last of the Russian troops left, and the Finnish War of Inde-

pendance was thus brought to an end. The triumph and outcome of the Finnish National Movement was due to the great Leader Snellman, who died in 1881. So one sees that it has taken over half a century for this small Nation, to come to its own amongst many vicissitudes.

FINNISH ART

It has already been pointed out, that as Finland formed part of the Kingdom of Sweden, until conquered by Russia in the year 1809, Finland has been tremendously influenced by the social order and culture of Sweden. Swedish was the language of all educated people, in spite of the fact that the Swedish Race formed only one-ninth part of the whole population. The Finnish have, during the whole period of their history, been distinguished by their natural love of art, and the strongest form was the love of poetry which formed an outlet in their rich treasury of folk-songs. But there was also the love of ocular beauty in the form of colour. Much of this indigenous art was dying out at the beginning of the 19th century, when Finland was conquered by Russia. The most distinguished artist who devoted himself to church painting was M. Topelius, and he was the direct descendant of Z. Topelius, who was Finland's greatest clerical poet.

Modern art began with Laurieus, who died in 1823. It was not, however, till a change came about in the political circumstances of the country, that

there was an awakening of national consciousness, which had a marked influence upon the social and intellectual life of the people.

Amongst the names of the Finnish national artists may be mentioned Holmberg, the most gifted landscape painter. And then came other painters to depict forest scenes and sea pieces, followed by Edefelt, whose landscapes are tinged with radiant idealism.

Now that that race has got its National Independence, and become liberated from foreign influences under which it has been subjected through centuries, no one is able to tell of the further evolution in Finnish art, and the exact lines in which that evolution will manifest itself in the future.

Now I may give you some personal reminiscences. During my recent travels, I paid two visits to Finland which shows that the country impressed me deeply and I found it abounding with interest from many points of view. The second visit was prompted by the desire of my Finnish friends to know something about Eastern problems, especially India, and it was at their invitation that I went to Finland early in April, although the climate at that time was anything but inviting. I shall never forget the 4th April at Stockholm when I boarded the steamer on my way to Abo in the midst of a severe snowstorm which covered the whole landscape of the Stockholm harbour, in fear, and trembling as to what lay in

store before us during the voyage through the night, and the next day we cut through the Baltic after having past more or less in quietness and found ourselves surrounded by a regular mass of ice which resisted with all its might the force of the steamer. Fortunately without any mishap, which was more than likely, the steamer got the better of the ice and the unfavourable elements, and we reached Abo Harbour, after a sleepless night which was due to the tremendous noise of crushing and breaking, that was heard in our cabins, through the port holes, as we passed along.

5th April was the daynd on which Prohibition was declared to have been abolished, and my hosts, therefore, took great care in selecting a hotel in the quietest part of this city, so that I may not be disturbed. The Finlanders are modern in every sense of the term, and displayed their American sense of journalism, through their newspaper reporters and invaded me at the hotel with their note-books. There was a very clever and well-informed representative of the Press of Helsingfors, who was instructed over the telephone to interview me immediately, and he took the lead of the deputation of the press, which consisted of six individuals one of them being a lady. The question put to me by the press reporters, for the most part, related to the Indian problem and the relationship now subsisting between England and India, both economical and

political. Much interest was shown about the policy regarding the National Congress and the arrest of Gandhi. The evening papers had long articles with this interview, and the information that they were able to obtain, and the reporters were not behind the times, for they had the photograph also inserted with suitable personal notices about myself. This warm reception in a cold and bleak atmosphere, cheered my spirits a great deal, and made me hopeful about the meeting that was to take place in the evening. The hotel was a most up-to-date one, with every modern convenience, but, lacked the supply of wines and spirits though it was a non-prohibition day. After taking a hurried meal at the restaurant where nobody could understand a word of English or German or French amidst a true Finnish atmosphere without any spiritual reinforcements. I proceeded to the University Building to deliver my lecture. Miss Peterson, Professor of English, at the University, presided at the lecture which was attended by nearly 300 University students as well as important residents of the town. After the lecture, I was invited by a Swedish businessman of importance of Abo to his home for supper, and here I found the usual proverbial hospitality of the Northern Races, which was most welcome at that hour of the evening after a strenuous day. It was most surprising to me to find that even here, in a private home, there was a keen interest evinced in

India, and in Indian culture, as I found in the library of my hostess, many books in Swedish and Finnish on Indian philosophy, architecture and history. The mingling of the Swedish and the Finnish Races was exemplified in this family, I have come across many instances of Finns marrying Swedish girls, and Swedes marrying in Finnish families. There were instances that came to my notice where there has been a blending between the English and the Finnish Races, by marriage. At the present moment there is a considerable intercourse between the two countries and there is established in Helsingfors an association called the British Export Association, which shows a desire for the expansion of foreign trade in Finland between England and that country. The weather showed no signs of change, and I preceded undaunted to Helsingfors the next day where I received even a warmer reception. I arrived by train and at the platform, I found the President of the Finnish British Society and also a charming lady of great repute and renown in Finnish political and journalistic life, with her daughter, present at the station to receive me.

The Railway Station building is one of the most unique that I have seen in any part of the world. The entrance is decorated by pairs of tall figures in Grecian architecture and the whole building is decorated by a magnificent tower giving the edifice a most imposing appearance. The hotel which is opposite

the station where I was accommodated, is one of the most up-to-date in the world, and the hall porter is a Russian of handsome appearance, but obviously comes from one of the most aristocratic families in Russia, and now is reduced to the humble post that he occupies. The first evening was spent at the private house of the Professor in Sanskrit and Philology. At this dinner party I met five or six of the most distinguished members of the University, learned men in their respected branches, with distinctly striking heads and personality. My host, who also entertained the British Minister, was one of the most charming old men I have ever met, 72 years of age, but bubbling with spirit, humour and good fellowship. He was not only well versed in the lore of Sanskrit learning, but he was a great classical scholar, and a lover of English literature. He had in his library old manuscripts in palmyra leaf script, in regard to one of which he was in doubt, and I was able to decipher it and tell him what it was. I have seldom seen a combination of youthful spirit and old learning as I did in this professor. He reminded one of the great philosophers of Greece as well as the Hindu sages of ancient times.

Having thus imbibed the local atmosphere of learned men, charming women, and a most penetrating northern climate, I got ready to meet my audience the next evening at the great public hall, and here I saw eager faces of both sexes waiting to

listen to my address, and there were at least three to four hundred people present, a remarkable audience consisting of every vocation in life of public men, politicians, business representatives, students of the universities, all perfectly understanding the English language. This circumstance made me think, as to whether there might not come a time when the English language will not become the largest spoken and the best understood language of the world.

After the lecture, and on receipt of many congratulations, we all adjourned for the supper party, which was arranged by the Society as a magnificent social ending to the somewhat formal meeting at the public hall. Here I met many Finnish Ladies and Gentlemen, with charming manners and personality, with whom naturally I exchanged addresses, and after a very delightful supper, which gave a representative idea of Finnish hospitality and Finnish food and drink accompanied by dancing during the intervals, I returned to my hotel after midnight, with a heavier fall of snow as if the climate was determined to give me a real wintry landscape, and to test within me my genuine attachment for the country and its people.

The modern architecture in Finland is very futuristic, and stiff, in appearance, the outlines being for the most part straight and rectangular. For instance there is a Church built recently, which, as against the sky, looks like the figure of "T" turned

upside down. The new House of Representatives, however, is a remarkable modern building, beautifully designed, both inside and outside, providing for all the requirements of the members, in a lavish style. The Committee rooms, and the various financial budgets, and other departments are suitably provided for, and the lady representatives also have beautiful suites of rooms allowed to them. Finland appeared to me to be on the eve of striking political developments. Russia has an eye on her and here I met the Russian Consul, who was a lady highly cultured and striking. I left Finland by rail for Russia after my first visit and took away happy memories which brought me back within less than a year.

**"Indian States and the Constitution Bill"—Article
in the "Contemporary Review of London"**

January 1933

The Report of the Joint Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform, published on 22nd November, was followed by the publication of the Constitution Bill in January, and the second reading in the House of Commons early in February. In all these stages it was made clear, and particularly by Sir John Simon in the House of Commons, on 12th December, that the very foundation of the Federal structure is the voluntary accession by a sufficient number of Rulers of Indian States to the Federation. The main recommendation of the Committee to introduce "responsibility at the Centre" is based entirely on the constitution of a federal structure for the whole of India, of which the Indian States coming in on "certain terms" will form a part. Without federation, therefore, there can be no "responsibility at the Centre".

Last Autumn some influential members of both Houses of Parliament, headed by the Duke of Westminster, and a few others, addressed a communication to the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, which was an amazing and not very creditable piece of propaganda against the Government policy. The letter stated:—

"We understand that Your Highness, in common with most of the Ruling Princes, views the scheme for the Government of India contained in the White Paper with considerable apprehension.

"We would like to assure you that this apprehension is shared by a large and growing number of people in this country, who are determined to do everything in their power to prevent the scheme from being passed by Parliament. We recognise that Your Highness, as Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, with the help of your Standing Committee, has power to avert this great danger. Time and again the British Government have stated that they will not proceed upon their course, unless the Princes of India support the scheme.

"In our opinion, therefore, it is only necessary for the majority of the Princes to make it clear that they are against the scheme. We can well understand the sort of pressure which is brought to bear upon you and your colleagues, but we venture to assure you that whereas if you yield, your destruction is certain, if you stand firm you have nothing to fear."

On December 5th, a few days after the publication of the Joint Committee Report, five members of the Indian Chamber of Princes, including the Chancellor and the Pro-Chancellor, addressed a communication to the Viceroy of India, and to Major C. S. Courtauld, M.P., declaring that unless the Report contained essential conditions on which the Princes are prepared to federate the Chamber of Princes will be absolutely free to reconsider its position.

Major Courtauld came into notoriety during the debate on the Joint Committee Report in the House of Commons by alleging that undue pressure had been brought to bear upon the Princes by the Viceroy, Lord Willingdon. Mr. Baldwin, in his speech concluding the debate, quoted a cable from Lord Willingdon totally repudiating this charge. In this repudiation he was warmly supported by the whole Chamber of Princes during their last session in January. These controversies, however, help us little in judging whether there is a reasonable prospect of the Princes entering the Federation, and whether the Constitution Bill contains those essential safeguards which the Princes have insisted upon as *sine qua non* for their entry into the Federation. The Joint Committee recommendations do not go into this vital issue in detail, and as there is silence and indecision on the part of the Princes it can be presumed that the Committee Report and the Government of India Bill on which it is based, does not satisfy them. Although we have some recognition of the wishes of the Princes in the Bill, it still remains to be seen whether the Princes will respond in clear and definite terms, which will set at rest all doubts, and thereby assist the passing of the measure in its present form through Parliament.

It has been made clear by the exponents of the National Government policy, and especially by Sir John Simon, that the whole complexion of the Indian

problem changed when, at the Round Table Conference, the Princes declared their willingness to enter into an All-India Federation upon "certain terms", one of them being that a Federal Government is a responsible, and not an irresponsible Government. This condition has been fulfilled by a proposed grant of "responsibility at the Centre" which happens to be the main point of controversy between those who support the Government, and those who oppose it in the matter of their Indian Policy. The supporters urge firstly that the unity of India is dangerously imperfect so long as British Indian Provinces have no constitutional relationship with Indian States, and secondly that mere grant of Provincial Autonomy without "responsibility at the Centre" will not solve the problem, as it will "....give full play to the powerful centrifugal forces without any attempt to counteract them and to ensure the continued unity of India."

The Marquess of Zetland, one of the signatories of the Joint Committee Report, speaking before the East India Association last November, stated:—

"If this principle is not conceded, the whole scheme for an All-India Federation falls to the ground, and the prospect of associating the Princes with the future Government of India is indefinitely postponed if not finally destroyed."

The Joint Committee have clearly anticipated the contingency of Federation being deferred, for in Paragraph 27 of their Report, they say:—

"If Parliament should desire to create an All-India Federation the actual establishment of the new Central Legislature may without danger be deferred for so long as may be necessary to complete arrangements for bringing the representatives of the States into it ; but the form of the Legislature must be defined in the Constitution Act itself." This view is repeated in Paragraph 157 of the Report which states:—

"... the establishment of Autonomy in the Provinces is likely to precede the establishment of the Federation ; but in our judgment it is desirable, if not essential, that the same act should lay down a Constitution for both, in order to make clear the full intention of Parliament."

The arrangements necessary for bringing representatives of the States into Federation have now been clearly indicated, and it may be relevant to refer to them in this connection. In the first place, before entering the Federation, the States have to signify to the Crown their willingness to accede by an instrument of accession. Secondly, the instrument should follow, as far as possible, a standard form, although it is anticipated that some of the Rulers may desire to make exceptions or reservations of certain subjects by reason of existing treaty rights or long-enjoyed special privileges. It is further stated that the Crown will not be under obligation to accept an accession, when exceptions or reservations which ought to be made are such as make the accession "illusory or merely colourable". If accession is accepted a procla-

mation by His Majesty the King is to follow upon an address by both Houses of Parliament praying that such a proclamation be issued, and when this address is being debated it is expected that the Parliament will receive a direct assurance through His Majesty's Government as to the solvency of the financial position. Paragraph 273 of the Joint Committee Report is clear on the point, for it says:—

"No doubt before the new Constitution actually comes into operation His Majesty's Government will review the financial position and inform Parliament how the matter stands," and that "...Parliament must at the appropriate time (presuming by this they refer to the address by both Houses to His Majesty) receive a direct assurance from His Majesty's Government."

Lastly it is to be remembered that one of the essential conditions laid down is that, until the Rulers of the States, responsible for no less than half the aggregate population of the States, have signified to His Majesty the desire to accede to the Federation, there can be no Federation.

We thus see that there can be no Federation without the States; there can be no "responsibility at the Centre" without Federation, and the States will not enter into the Federation unless certain essential minimum safeguards are provided so far as they are concerned. As regards these safeguards, we have them summarised in seventeen points issued by the Chamber of Princes. They mainly deal with

internal sovereignty, direct relationship with the Crown and treaty rights and privileges. The matter becomes more difficult when an attempt is made to standardise the reservations and exceptions demanded by the Princes, or to insist, as suggested by the Joint Committee, that moderation in the use of special treaty rights by certain States may be a condition of federation. (Paragraph 31.)

A clear interpretation of the real intentions of the framers of the Joint Committee Report, as well as the policy of the National Government appearing in the Government of India Bill now before Parliament, is to be found in the explicit declaration from one of the prominent members of the Committee, Lord Hardinge of Penshurst, an ex-Viceroy of India, who presided at the lecture by the Marquess of Zetland before the East India Association last November. Lord Hardinge said on that occasion:—

“It is quite clear, however, that there must be delay between the inauguration of Provincial Autonomy and ‘responsibility at the Centre’, since there are several conditions to be fulfilled, which have been accepted by the Indians, and which must take time. Some of these are :—

1. The accession of the Princes to a federation, there being no ‘responsibility at the Centre’ without federation ;
2. The establishment of a Reserve Bank, operating and free from political influence ;
3. The budgetary position of India to be assured ;
4. The Provinces to be financially solvent ; and
5. As provided in the White Paper, federation is

only to be brought into being by Royal Proclamation after both Houses of Parliament have presented an address to the Crown with a prayer for its promulgation.

If all these conditions are to be fulfilled, the general expectation is that there must be a reasonable delay of some years before the inauguration of 'responsibility at the Centre', and I hope that those who oppose the principle may be satisfied with the delay and with the provision that its introduction must be dependent on a vote of both Houses of Parliament."

Subsequent to this declaration we have had pronouncements by responsible statesmen on the subject. Sir Samuel Hoare in his broadcast speech as reproduced in *The Listener* on 2nd January, said :—

"As for the Indian States, I repudiate altogether any suggestion that improper pressure has been brought to bear upon the Princes to force them into the proposed federation against their will. No evidence has been adduced of such pressure, and the only evidence that exists is evidence of pressure being used by Mr. Churchill and his friends to keep the States out of federation. The Princes have been anxious about certain safeguards and when they find, as I believe they will, that their anxieties have been removed, they will make good their original undertakings that were the starting point of this policy and enter the federation in the interests alike of their own States and of their Mother Country, India." On the other hand, Lord Lloyd, in his broadcast speech as published in *The Listener* on 16th January, spoke as follows :—

"There is, of course, another argument used to try to persuade us that these grave risks must be run. It is said: 'Oh, the Princes have agreed to federation provided that "responsibility for Government at the Centre" is handed over to Indians, and if we don't hand over that responsibility at once, we may forfeit for ever the Princes' agreement to federation'. Are we seriously to believe that the Princes have so little knowledge of their own interests or the interests of India that they are really likely to act in this wholly unaccountable manner?"

Does not all this show that both supporters and opponents of the principle of "responsibility at the Centre" are speculating on an uncertain factor, most vital to Constitutional Reform as a whole, namely, the position the Princes will finally take regarding their entry into the Federation? It is clear that the responsibility now rests with them, and not only British India but the British Parliament will naturally lay the whole blame on them if, through indecision or delay on their part, federation is deferred in which case the reforms will be whittled down to more or less the original proposals of the Simon Commission which is a consummation now devoutly wished for by Lord Salisbury, Mr. Winston Churchill and their followers. In that event the whole Indian problem will revert to the position it was in five years ago, and it is not difficult to foresee the dangers and the difficulties that will be created through such a contingency.

One solution of the present *impasse* seems to be to grant full Provincial Autonomy, and to provide

simultaneously for a federation of the Autonomous Indian Provinces with a form of dyarchy at the Centre such as now exists under the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms in all the Provinces in British India, leaving the States alone, if for some reason or other the Princes do not come into the Federation. We can thus have a nucleus of the federal structure for the whole of British India, leaving it open to the Princes to accede to the Federation in due course of time if they choose to do so. Lord Hardinge's expectation that the questions demanding settlement before Federation comes into being would take at least some years is correct, as matters stand at present. Thus there will be a suspension of the reform structure at the Centre at the very commencement. There is the advantage in following the suggested course of inaugurating the British Indian Federal Constitution, that thereby the Indian politicians of all shades of opinion including the Congress will have tangible evidence of the earnestness and *bonafides* of the framers of the scheme as a whole. Moreover the suspicion that "responsibility at the Centre" has been conceded in form only, and not in substance with the full knowledge that the Princes will not find it easy to enter the Federation will thus be avoided. As a corollary, the Princes may be given the option of constituting a federation amongst themselves of the Indian States on parallel lines. Such a measure will circumscribe the controversial points now arising as

between the States and their treaty rights on the one hand, and relationship of these to British Indian problems on the other. It has been made abundantly clear that the larger States will not come into the Federation unless some of the pending questions affecting them individually are settled.

The British Indian Federation may be linked up with the Indian States Federation by the establishment of a Council for Greater India which was originally recommended by the Simon Commission in Paragraph 236 of their report. In Paragraphs 31 and 32 the Simon Commission state:—"Experience shows that federation has generally come about some time after the federating units have become politically self-conscious." They quote the cases of Australia and South Africa as well as the Dominion of Canada. Here is another extract:—

"....even if we were to ignore the Indian States and were to rest content with the Provinces as at present constituted, the necessary conditions for bringing a fully federal constitution into being are not yet present."

The new Government of India Bill deals with the establishment of federation and accession of Indian States in only two clauses, namely 5 and 6 in Chapter I, Part II. The foundation, therefore, of the whole structure is laid on these two sections and it is not easy to conjecture at the present moment when they will come into operation. If, therefore, full provincial autonomy is granted immediately, and about

this there is no difference of opinion, and all the existing and newly created British provinces are federated under one central Federal Government for British India without the States, leaving it open to the Princes to come into the Federation later, we shall thus have a system of dyarchy at the Centre, and full responsible government in the provinces simultaneously introduced. If, on the other hand, Parliament passes the Bill in its present form, for the reasons already explained, there will be no change at the Centre, and the Provincial Governments will be modelled according to the provisions of Part III of the Bill, thereby giving full play to the centrifugal forces which the framers of the scheme have throughout been attempting to counteract. The disappointment now prevailing amongst the moderate and liberal sections of the Indian politicians will be greatly enhanced by the suspension of the introduction of the principle of responsibility in the Central Government through a cause over which they have no control. There is also the danger of the propaganda to create dissensions amongst the Princes being continued to the detriment of their own interests. From every point of view, therefore, it is highly expedient to provide in the new Constitution Bill the means for a final settlement and final action which may be practical and also satisfactory to all parties concerned, both British and Indian, including the Princes and the Indian States.

**Speech as Chairman at a Public Meeting at
Friends' House, Euston Road, London, celebrating
the Signing of "The Kellogg Pact"**

August 1934

I am sure you are all aware that this is the anniversary of the signing of the Kellogg Briand Pact.

We are met here this evening under the auspices of the World Fellowship of Faiths, one of the main objects of which is to promote the realisation of peace and brotherhood through understanding and neighbourliness between people of all races, nationalities, and cultures.

At this Peace Day Meeting we have to concentrate our minds on this great ideal. We have fortunately in the programme a list of eminent speakers who will put before you in more eloquent language than I can command a true meaning of this ideal. I do not, therefore, wish to encroach upon your valuable time in making any lengthy observations, although there is so much one could say about peace in view of the happenings in Europe today, but will satisfy myself in presenting to you a few impressions and thoughts that may help in the discussions that are to ensue.

The problem of peace has assumed a new aspect in the second quarter of the 20th century. It is not now so much a question of peace as a result of war or a question of peace to guard against war in the

future, but mainly a question of securing a better understanding amongst all peoples and nations. Within the brief space of two decades the world has changed rapidly. Time and space are annihilated in everyday experience. During less than a generation nations and peoples have lived many lives and are passing through many vicissitudes seriously affected by one another, and the pressure of overpopulation is felt in every direction, and with it the desire for expansion. Each capital city is the brain centre, the electric switchboard, as it were, of a huge organisation from which the world force is controlled or let loose. The great complexity of international relations has grown beyond all reckoning and each section has to work in harmony and co-ordination to avoid a catastrophe. Applying the same metaphor, the voltage has to be uniform; where it is high, it has to be reduced; where it is low it has to be brought up to the required level, and all this has to be accomplished by consummate skill in engineering the electric currents at play, and not by force. Backward countries have to be brought up to and helped towards a higher standard of civilisation, forward countries have to live in peace and harmony with their lesser neighbours, controlling brute force and desire to conquer and overrule. All nations, great and small, are important units today. Small States and kingdoms, weaker though they may be in material strength, ownership of the earth's

surface, and armaments, have as much power within themselves to kindle a flame, and thus produce a general conflagration. The larger States wait for the opportunity of throwing the blame on their lesser neighbours, and of plunging themselves with avarice into the general *mélée*. Such are the perplexities of the world situation. But that is a negative view of the peace problem, which has to be approached not as distinguished from war, or conditions that might lead to war, but as peace founded and superimposed on the very principle of the universe, namely, co-ordination and harmony, the great Brahminic idea of the Supreme Mind and Creation; and that peace can only be the outcome of the spirit of good-will and the spirit of mutual tolerance, the spirit of neighbourly brotherhood, not the materialistic spirit of grab and take, the incessant struggle between the strong and the weak.

In the political science of ancient times the idea of peace could never arise without waging war, and this has been till now the logical sequence in history. In the *Arthasastra* by Kautilya, which was written nearly three centuries before Christ, and which is considered to be the greatest Sanskrit work in the art of government duties of kings, and the methods of diplomacy, it was definitely laid down, for example, that agreement of peace shall be made with equal and superior kings, and an inferior king shall be attacked. This has been the governing principle of nations for

over two thousand years. The moral force of Christian teaching, or the Eastern conception of world harmony, have failed to promote that peace which comes from within the heart and the soul of man, both individually and collectively. Is this not due to the abnormal growth of materialism, causing a loss of equilibrium between mind and matter in all human ideals and activities? Today we have warring elements in the spheres of religion, morals, sociology, and politics; strife within each country, between groups of people living under one government or the same geographical boundaries, there is war in the narrowest limits of the home, between rival interests of capital and labour, between class and class, and between different groups of political parties. There is also the danger to peace, in the relations between the East and West, in the differences of race and colour, in the spirit of aggressiveness and exploitation of less backward countries by the more advanced. In the words of Mr. Baldwin, the frontiers of England now extend from the English Channel to the Rhine, and may break out at any moment. These are ominous words, but is it not true that the frontiers of every country are extending beyond their geographical limits, and there is "world-wide fraternal Oneness of life" in spite of which, alas, nationalism of a narrow and rigid type is drawing peoples almost to the verge of war? Does not Mr. William Harris say "the disease

from which Europe is still suffering after 13 years of peace is intense national selfishness?" To combat this the positive side of the peace mentality, which will not depend on the horrors of war too often presented to our minds by peace propagandists, but which is founded on the attitude of the soul, must be strenuously worked for in all spheres of the individual as well as the collective and national life to effectively and beneficially utilise the unifying world forces brought about by science and the material achievements of mankind.

I may be considered to have dealt with the subject from a purely abstract point of view. I may, therefore, attempt to put before you a few points which have got a practical significance. Besides the dangers already referred to in the way of the universal spread of the peace mentality, we have today the want of spiritual leadership in almost every country, resulting in too many political groups at reviance with each other in regard to fundamental principles. This is causing a lack of national unity and many nations are now drifting towards a reversion to dictatorship. Democracy in its truest form, which is the greatest pride of modern civilisation and the modern art of government, has lost its force of cohesion, but a kind of democracy has grown up which is splitting nations into rival factions. In matters of external relations, nations are adopting a policy of exclusion due to economic

necessity or self-preservation, but defeating its own purpose. The system of money and currencies designed for the spread of commerce and harmonious economic relationship is now pregnant with the seeds of distress and retaliation. The endeavour of every right-thinking man and woman today who desires to promote the realisation of peace and brotherhood is to find remedies for these defects. First and foremost it strikes me that the League of Nations has almost come to the end of its period of usefulness as a great guardian and guarantee of peace. To be effective in this direction, it has to undergo a complete reconstruction under a scheme by which all nations, great and small, should have an effective voice and equal status, and it should not overlook some of the vital problems of the present century closely connected with the relations between Europe and Asia. Under the auspices of the League there may be held a periodical World Economic Conference for the purpose of arriving at an international agreement to remove the conflicts and contradictions that arise in the course of the fulfilment of the policy of high tariffs and protection, adopted severally by each country in turn to protect its own interests. We see such contradiction in England today where in spite of the Ottawa Conference governing the trade relations of countries within the British Commonwealth separate trade agreements are being entered into to bring about harmony and friendly co-operation as between England and other foreign countries.

While dwelling on this point I may state my conviction that cementing the bonds of friendship and harmonious co-operation between England and India will go a long way to promote world peace.

Towards the development of international relationship on a friendly and cultural basis, the V.O.K.S. in Soviet Russia, and A.P.A. in England, or International Clubs, may be multiplied in every country for the purpose of promoting understanding and neighbourliness between peoples. Further there is no reason why there should not be an international journal published at each capital centre of the civilised world under one impartial International Peace Society in several European and Asiatic languages, setting forth facts with a view to a better understanding of international problems and differences. The formation of an International Peace Society comprising all nations and religions may be a healthy antidote as it will help to create universal public opinion, the pressure of which can be brought to bear upon Governments, which will be all for peaceful settlement of differences. And differences there must be, for to quote Sir Frederick Whyte, "If the price of universal peace be indeed universal sameness, the world will rather choose unending war than such a death of its soul", and with him I may affirm my faith that the common achievement of all mankind is to take these "differences to a high ground of a new world order and there compose them in peace." To enable us all

individually and collectively to take these "differences to a high ground of a new world and there compose them in peace" we may well follow the teachings conveyed by one of India's foremost social workers of his day, my father, Sevabrata Sasipada, which I, with your permission, will give in his own words as a fitting conclusion to these observations, "It is in no idle sense that peace has been extolled by prophets and seers of all climes and ages. Peace is the grand goal towards which all humanity is moving. The world is full of war and strife, and in the midst of all inharmony we cry out for peace. Indeed, the aim of civilisation is the establishment of peace, the complete triumph of love and friendship, and anything that disturbs peace disturbs the onward march of the human race. It is for this reason that the world has always hailed a peacemaker, has always offered its homage to one who has sought to heal the canker of hatred that afflicts mankind. It is, indeed, no exaggeration to say that peace is the very crown and perfection of our moral nature; for peace is possible only when the clamour within is at an end. There goes on a perpetual feud in our inner consciousness, feud between the multitude of conflicting emotions, feud between love and hatred, between friendship and jealousy, and when the din of internal war is hushed for ever, then alone we enter into a 'peace that passeth all understanding'."

Lecture on "Europe and Asia—The Future Outlook"
at the Richmond International Club, London
December 1934

This is a fit opportunity to take up for consideration the subject of Europe and Asia's future outlook. It is no doubt vast and it would be presumptuous for any lecturer to deal with it comprehensively within the time of twenty minutes or half an hour allotted to him. The time however is opportune to give even a cursory consideration. Now we hear of Japan supplying Germany with soya beans and Germany supplying Japan with aeroplanes, arms and pilots. For this interchange of all material objects between Europe and Asia for the strengthening of countries lying in the two hemispheres to each other's advantage, the future does not seem to hold a very bright picture of peace and harmony. Meredit Townsend in his book on the same subject, said, "The struggle between Europe and Asia is the binding thread of history. The trade between Europe and Asia is the foundation of commerce." The thought of Asia is the basis of European religion, but he pessimistically added, "the fusion of the two will never occur".

There are two movements, one from Asiatic countries to Europe in the pre-Christian era and the other from Occidental countries to Asia at a later stage in world history. When Europe was in her

cradle, she learnt from Asia her alphabet, arithmetic, astronomy and navigation. Asiatics crossed the seas to the South Pacific and America, Hindus conquered and civilised Java, Malaya and Madagascar and with the advent of a new religion in Asia, *viz.*, Mohamedanism, Arabs reached China and later conquered Africa and Spain. The Turks came almost to the Eastern suburbs of Vienna and Eastern culture concentrated in the laws of Manu, Asoka, Moses and Confucius, and illustrated by the temples of India and the philosophy of the Upanishads of Yoga, and Gita have penetrated Western thought to a great extent during the past 500 years or more.

The second movement started with Vasco da Gama coming to the west coast of India to establish Portuguese influence, and then came the Dutch, French and British who completed for supremacy and finally the British rule was established in India in 1757. The second movement was brought about by pressure of population in Europe, struggle for existence, advance in Applied Science and as Rolland said, "Europe never scorned the roads of science when the business in hand was pillage or extortion, or exploitation of her natural riches under the banner of Christ or of civilisation." This material invasion, however, had other influences on Eastern countries such as Japan, China, India and the Near East in respect of society, religion, politics, economics and national aspirations.

Japan's policy was to relieve pressure at home by expansion abroad. Russia's defeat by Japan in 1905 struck a blow to European prestige in Asia, her annexation of Korea in 1910, Manchuria in 1933 all brought about a re-orientation of Asiatic policy towards Western nations, and finally we have the Washington Treaty from which I quote three clauses as follows:—

- (1) Pledged the four Powers of America, Great Britain, France and Japan, to respect the insular possessions of each of them in the Pacific Ocean.
- (2) Bound the Nine Powers of America, Great Britain, France, Japan and four others, China being the ninth signatory, to respect the sovereignty, the independence and the territorial and administrative integrity of China, to help China to develop and maintain a stable government and to maintain the Open Door.
- (3) On the basis of this policy of conciliation, England, America and Japan agreed to reduce their naval armaments, and the two former undertook not to fortify Guam, and the Philippine Islands and Hong Kong.

In China there was the revolution against which Extra-Territorial Rights were created and American and Russian influences through missionaries and communistic foreigners spread slowly but surely.

The position of women was one of the fundamental differences spreading throughout Europe and Asia, East and West. Furthermore, Asia was being materialised and religion was gradually being swept into the background. The higher conception of life was being lost in the struggle for material power.

There is further a reverse movement from Asia, for what Asia was losing was being drawn gradually by Europe. I quote again Rolland, "There are a few of us in Europe for which European civilisation no longer suffices. Dissatisfied children of the West will look towards Asia."

Forty centuries of old civilisation of India and China offer answers to most European problems of their unrest, strife and discord. The Germans were the first to ask of Asia that food which the starved spirit of Europe could no longer find. The pioneers of research and thinkers like Kyserling, Hermann Hesse, and many German professors and scholars commencing from Max Muller, drew their inspiration from the sacred books of the East. Thus we see that while Asia was applying the Weapons forged in the West to her needs, Europe was seeking solace from the wisdom of the East.

The end of the twentieth century will surely see a clash between materialised Asia, and the idealistic Europe. The East is no longer 'unchanging'. Matthew Arnold's famous lines, the East bowed low before the blast in patient deep disdain, she let the

legions thunder past, then plunged in thought again," no longer remains as a true picture. Asia will meet thunder with thunder, aeroplanes with aeroplanes, bombs with bombs, submarines with submarines. There are potential eighty million soldiers in Asia, and there is a population of over twelve hundred millions. In size it is forty times as large as France. It used to be said, the Celestial Empire ruled over half the population of the world but today the Empires are breaking up and the autocracy and dictatorship of the East are invading Europe, and the East is following all the practices of strength in modern democracy with the result that there is a temporary disorganisation as in China.

In contra-distinction to India which had over 100 years of training in Western education and political ideas under the British rule, she has yet to find herself, but conflict in Asia between the Imperial conception of nation-building and expansion as in Japan besides modernisation and European conception of State Government as in the Near East with Moslem culture may bring about a clash.

If a clash between Europe and Asia is to be avoided there is imperative need for proper understanding of Asiatic problems by European countries; co-operation between Europe and Asia and between East and West. What therefore are the dangers to the peace of the world? On the one side there is Pan-Asianism, a movement started in Japan, the

object of which is to diffuse Japanese civilisation, and domination over all Asiatic countries. There is also a Pan-Islamic Movement amongst Moslem nations in Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan and Arabia in order to help the smaller Kingdoms in Central Asia. On the other hand, Europe's complacency and persistent desire to bring under subjection Asiatic countries in the belief that it is the mission of the West to civilise the East is also a danger to peace. History may repeat itself if Europe adopts a militant attitude towards Asia, then in a rebound, Asia may fight with her teeming millions, sweep over Europe again and turn the tables against her and there will be a terrible conflict between the two Continents. Asia and Europe can give their very best to each other without a spirit of conquest or domination with a desire not for subjection of either by the other, but work for world peace and solve world problems which are closely mingled together as international problems belonging to all nations whose destinies are identical from the cultural, moral and material aspects.

These should be solved on a higher plane of common humanity regardless of creed, race or colour, the last being the greatest menace. This may sound Utopian but there can be no peace in the world without this idea being kept in view. Asia and Europe must be with each other in the long travail through which modern civilisation must proceed to its goal,

and thus be the basis and foundation of a higher structure for the evolution and progress of mankind as a whole, or else our ancient and modern civilisation will be destroyed. Man will begin again after reverting to the primitive type. It is far better to cherish an Utopian idea than such a horrible dream.

**“ Danger Zone in Central Asia ”—Article
in the “ Indian Review ”
April 1935**

Recently some information has been given by Press political and diplomatic correspondents regarding manœuvres of the Soviet Government in Turkey connected with the re-militarisation of the Dardanelles. By means of British intervention, these manœuvres were foiled, and Turkey, apparently to prevent further intrigues, made an announcement at Geneva, early in June, that proposals in this behalf would not be pressed. It has to be remembered, however, that Turkey, under the recent Balkan Pact, has agreed not to participate in any conflict against her big neighbour, Soviet Russia. Thus the Foreign policy of Soviet Russia has very cleverly spread its tentacles in the Near East.

The object of this article, however, is to deal with a danger zone in Central Asia. Although fragmentary reports have appeared in the newspapers during the last six months about happenings in Central Asia, sufficient public attention has not been drawn to what I may describe as “ The Kashgar Menace ”. Kashgar is situated not more than 150 miles from the Soviet boundary, and the recent attempts made to establish a Moslem Republic there have a deeper significance than appears on the surface. There is as yet no justification for anyone looking far ahead,

or one fairly conversant with the Central Asian intrigues to assert that this manifestation of Moslem imperialism, however small in scale it may be, is only the beginning in disguise of the Pan-Islamic Movement in Asia. Certain facts, however, have to be faced, especially at the present time, when a new Federal Government is being evolved in India as a result of seven years' discussion on its internal, political and constitutional problems. Opinion, both in England and India, has to be enlightened by careful study of those facts. I am no expert on the problems of the north-western frontier of India. Many books have been published on the military aspects so far as the larger question of defence of India is concerned. But now certain developments are taking place over extensive regions in Asia beyond the limits of geographical boundaries. An attempt to connect them from the historic standpoint, as well as from the point of view of future possibilities, may not be untimely.

While all the countries of Europe are in a state of economic war, and the futile discussions of the Disarmament Conference have only emboldened European nations to improve their military strength to the utmost possible extent, we have seen in 1934 two historic meetings, one in Rome, and the other in Angora, between a pair of Dictators who have, within a very few years, succeeded in changing the whole condition of things in their respective countries, by their masterful personality, and sweeping changes

in the methods of government. I refer to the visits of Herr Hitler to Signor Mussolini in Rome, and of the Shah of Persia to Kemal Pasha in Angora. It is believed that the Gazi is now contemplating a return visit to Persia, and grand preparations are being made by the Shah for his reception.

It is relevant in this connection to remember the extraordinary speech that Mussolini delivered a few months ago about his dreams for the expansion of Italy, and the possibilities of extending the arms of Italian influence to the East, conjuring before the eyes of the world the example of such intrepid and ambitious conquerors as Alexander the Great. We have before us now the Franco-Italian Pact relating to the cessation of territory in North Africa to Italy.

History may repeat itself, and who knows that a new Roman Empire may not evolve in less than a century from now, penetrating the Near East and through those regions and also East Africa into the very heart of Asia? Any union therefore between two European Dictators at the present time, both of whom are burning with zeal for colonisation and expansion, has a very deep significance, deeper than a superficial observer cares to give credence to, as to what may happen in the near future in the Near East and in Asia.

The Shah was invited to visit the Dardanelles, and it has been alleged in the Press that a new alliance is being discussed, which will form the foundation for an Eastern Pact, comprising Turkey, Persia, Iraq and

Afghanistan. Economic treaties are being discussed and arrangements for the expansion of trade and commerce are also in progress in so far as the existing state of affairs are unsatisfactory between those countries and Soviet Russia. The meeting of the two Asiatic Dictators is of momentous importance, for the history of the relations of Turkey and Persia during the past century or more is not such as to create in the minds of the Turks or the Persians a desire to join hands, unless it be for a common purpose outside their own geographical boundaries. Ostensibly the meeting and discussions are intended for economic understandings between the two countries, but it is easy to see deeper meaning which the diplomatic world would only surmise rather than have tangible proofs for questioning, as between the conflicting interests of its component parts.

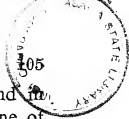
The meeting of Hitler and Mussolini in Europe, and the meeting of the Shah and Kemal Pasha in Asia, make a strange coincidence; a spectacle that gives the thinking world cause to ponder what is to happen next. The Russian Bear, a proverbial designation of that vast empire which is now quivering with new enterprise and life, having risen from centuries of stupor under the oppression of Czardom, is now shaking its head right and left, watching these developments. The frontiers of the Soviet Republic abut on the south-western borders, the extreme northern frontiers of Persia, Chinese Turkistan, Afghanistan,

and even the north-western frontier of India above Chitral and Gilgit. It has also over a thousand miles of frontier between itself and the whole of the Chinese Republic, through which the Soviet influence has penetrated, straight through Chinese territory and Manchuria, now under Japanese influence, to the Far Eastern Seas. Recently a Japanese news agency reported something of a Soviet intrusion into Chinese Turkistan. Japan is attempting to create unrest in the minds of the British, as well as the Indian peoples, owing no doubt to her policy of aggrandizement, by circulating rumours of the wildest kind. Three such rumours were broadcast from Tokio. One was the supply of arms and ammunitions to the new Moslem Government in Chinese Turkistan; the second, the finding of a Moslem State in these regions directly under Soviet influence; and the third, the establishment of a base of operations in these regions for Communist activity in India and Tibet. In my recent book, "The Indian Tangle," I foretold certain events in the Indian sub-Continent by referring to the possibilities of a Pan-Asiatic Movement led by Japan from the East and a Pan-Islamic Movement organised by the Moslem Kingdoms in the West. As between the two Bolshevik emissaries in Central Asia would probably play a part to seek their own ends according to the exigencies of the moment.

I have before me a leading article published sometime ago by the *Madras Mail*, the leading

British Journal of Southern India, with the title "Japan looks to India," which lends support to at least a part of these forebodings. The writer quotes a letter said to have come from an authoritative source in Tokio, in which the following statement appears: "The application of Japan's policy to Eastern Asia demands an answer to the question: what is meant by Eastern Asia in the Japanese mind, which includes all countries east of India as well as India." The writer asserts that Japan's Monroe Doctrine for Asia intended to prevent Western nations from interfering with the independence of Asiatic nations, so as to leave her a free hand to do as she pleased in Asia, where she rightly or wrongly contends, she is the only country that has paramount interests. The *Madras Mail* says that India will not be safe if she attempts to stand alone, thereby implying that the alarm regarding Japanese invasion of India is not altogether fantastic. We recently saw a Press notice of Pan-Asianism—a movement started in Japan which declares that the Manchuko is the beginning of a Pan-Asiatic Movement, the object of which is to diffuse Japanese civilisation in all Asiatic countries.

The question now arises whether one would be right in supposing that the seat of future conflicts between nations will be in the Eastern Hemisphere. If so, should not preventive measures be taken to avoid a serious conflict which may involve England

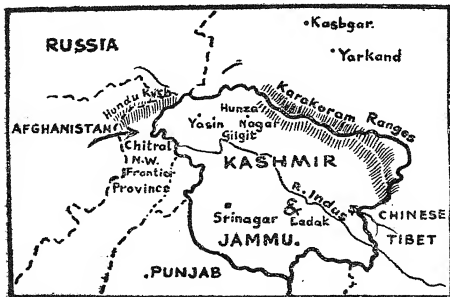


and also some of the European countries, and in which India will be the pawn or the main bone of contention ?

In an article on the problems of Kashmir, which I published two years ago in the *Nineteenth Century and After*, I indicated some of the dangers underlying the present frontier policy of the Kashmir State, and I suggested that a new treaty should be entered into between the British Government and the Kashmir Maharaja, according to which the present divided responsibility over the Kashmir frontiers proper and the Moslem States lying beyond, now under the suzerain power of Kashmir, might be substituted by supreme British control. The recent Kashgar Rebellion, which may or may not have been influenced by Bolshevik intrigue, has caused an unrest amongst the several Moslem Kingdoms of Central Asia. If British policy in the south-west frontier and Kashmir is not suitably revised to meet the present situation and future developments, this unrest will grow and the region over which it spreads will be the hunting-ground of rival intrigues from the East as well as from the West.

From the frontier outline of Kashmir, as indicated in the following Sketch Map, some conclusions may be drawn. While the north of the State is well guarded by the high Karakoram Ranges, no one can say with certainty how far Kashmir can defend herself along her eastern and western frontiers, should a

conflict take place in Central Asia. The political district of Gilgit, which, as a part of Kashmir proper, is under the dual control of His Highness's Government and the Government of India, has the Hindu Kush Mountains in the north, which separate Afghanistan from the Kashmir territory, and on the west lies Chitral. Gilgit itself has a very interesting



history in the past. It is the military as well as administrative headquarters of the Political Agency, which comprises within its jurisdiction the States of Hunza and Nagar, the Republics of the Chilas district, and Yasin, as well as the governorships of Kuh-Ghizr and Ashkuman. These States are subsidized both by the British and the Kashmir Governments, having accepted joint control and promoted free passage

of military and political officers through their borders. They also undertook to put an end to raiding on the Yarkand road and elsewhere. Their political history has not been a tranquil one. Hunza and Nagar especially, who pay small tributes to the Maharaja of Kashmir, have by their past conduct clearly shown that they can be easily won over by outside pressure and anti-British intrigues, which might develop not only in the north towards Yarkand, or in the Chinese frontier, but also in the western region bordering on Afghanistan. After the Rebellion of 1891 in Hunza and Nagar, revised Sanads were granted by the Maharaja to the Mirs of these two States.

Chitral is not now Kashmir territory, though it is under the suzerainty of Kashmir, and there is a Political Officer in Chitral, which is now under a separate agency. Occupying a highly strategic position east of the Afghan borders, it is now entirely under British Military control, and is garrisoned with British Indian Troops. How far the past political history of these semi-independent territories under the joint control of the British and the Kashmir Governments justifies the present system, is a question that naturally arises. There are many matters connected with the military administration of these tracts and the apportionment of expenditure of frontier defence, transport and garrisoning, which frequently rouse controversies between the two

Governments. The forces employed in the Gilgit agency are Kashmir forces, armed by the British Government in India, which bears half the cost.

It is evident that should a conflict arise out of disturbed conditions in Central Asia, the pressure will come from the Afghan borders on the west, the Yarkand borders on the north, and the Chinese Turkistan borders on the east. The Karakoram Mountains guard the main portion of the northern frontier of Kashmir, but as there is a high road from Central Asia through Leh and Ladak to Srinagar, Kashmir is vulnerable at many points, should a strong military organisation concentrate itself in Kashgar, or in Chinese Turkestan. Needless to say, the Gilgit Agency, including these subordinate kingdoms, is also vulnerable from the Afghan, as well as from the Russian side; for the Russian Pamirs are within about two hundred miles from Gilgit itself, and much less from the actual Kashmir frontier line.

In a remarkable book "The Restless Pacific," published in 1928, Nicholas Roosevelt makes many pertinent remarks, especially in the chapter "Conflict of Policies", regarding the designs of Japan on the one side, and Russia on the other, for the mastery of Asia. He quotes the famous Russian General Skobeloff, who said: "The stronger Russia becomes in Central Asia, the weaker will England become in India, and the more accommodating in Europe." The author also expressed the opinion that the seeds

of future wars in Asia lies in the problem of Manchuria, which is vital to Japan and Russia, and of still more importance to China. Those who have been watching with care the developments during the last two years in Manchuria, including the withdrawal of Japan from the League of Nations, and the establishment of an independent kingdom more or less under the control and supervision of Japan in Manchuria, can have no doubt as to the direction in which Japan intends to develop her future policy of expansion.

I should like to quote here a significant passage in Mr. Roosevelt's book, as regards Russia's dominant motive towards Asia. He says: "Russia, the great Continental power, European in origin, but Asiatic by destiny, dreams of restoring the Empire of the Moghul Khans, and her strength based on the wealth of old Asia, taking her place as leader in world affairs." It would thus appear that eventually at some point or other, Russia and Japan are bound to come to a clash regarding mastery of Asia. Moreover, Russia will so reorganise her Eastern policy, and consolidate her own internal affairs with a view to its fruition, that some day she will find herself ready to wipe out old scores against Japan, which she is still harbouring after her ignoble defeat in the Russo-Japanese Wars. Nothing has happened in history during the past hundred years which has so diminished the prestige of European nations in the eyes of the Eastern peoples as Russia's defeat and Japan's

victory. Here we are able to trace the real significance of Russia's expansion through China, and her opposition to the establishment of a Japanese stronghold in Manchuria. It would seem to me unlikely that the confederation of Moslem States will so surrender their own Pan-Islamic dreams as to come under the sway of Soviet Russia in the near future; on the other hand, the probabilities are that there will be a triangular contest between the Moslem Confederation, Soviet Russia, and Japan for supremacy in Asia, with the ultimate object of driving England out and taking possession of India.

These developments may come very soon, or they may take years to mature. In either contingency, the future of India, her constitutional advance, and the achievement of a federal form of government for all India which are now receiving the anxious consideration of both Houses of Parliament, cannot be precisely determined without serious consideration being paid to the problems of Asia as a whole, and the storm clouds gathering in Central Asia, that may one day bring about a deluge. The immediate solution is no doubt of paramount importance and that can only be found in suitable changes in the Treaties and Sanads between the British Paramount Power and the independent Ruling Princes of India in the first instance. These existing understandings are of no avail in regard to the Central Asian problem. The major Princes ought to be given a higher status

similar to that given to Nepal by which they would be equal partners, and be jointly responsible for the defence of India as a whole against every kind of foreign aggression, be it from the East or the West, be it under the influence of Soviet Russia or Japan, be it through a strong confederation of Moslem States outside.

Furthermore, England should aim at encouraging a broader sense of nationalism amongst the Indian peoples by every means in her power, and she should endeavour also to remove the slightest suspicion of the policy of *divide et impera* playing one community against another. If Hindus and Moslems do not come to a compromise about most of the vital problems of India today, there is going to be a cleavage which will endanger the very peace of all Asia, and India in particular. Japan may cajole Hindu sentiment, promising independence and restoration of Buddhism to the land of its birth. Similarly, the Pan-Islamic Movement would cajole the Moslem States with a stronger force of religious fanaticism, promising to the States an independent status similar to that they themselves enjoy, with a view to restore the ancient glories of the Moghul Empire. Heavy responsibility, therefore, lies on England at the present moment. Apart from the question of the stakes she has in Asia, she has a responsibility towards India, through a political and economic connection lasting more than a century and a half. Diplomacy, as well

as sound military judgment are both needed today to do the correct thing. England cannot afford to adopt a *laissez-faire* policy in Central Asia today. Internally she should secure the support of the Indian Princes, and the political leaders of the two sections of the Indian peoples—both Hindu and Moslem.

Both the external and internal foreign policies of India require to be co-ordinated without further loss of time, and without waiting for the establishment of a federal constitution. The danger of a Pan-Asiatic as well as a Pan-Islamic Movement can be adequately met only by united action, in which the Indian Princes and peoples, setting aside their differences, should co-operate with Great Britain for the protection of their joint interests for the integrity of India as a whole and for conserving peace in the whole Asiatic Continent.

**“Mysore and Federation”—Letter to the
“London Times”
August 1935**

Since Mr. Hayavadana Rao's letter on the subject of Mysore and the Federation appeared in *The Times* of August 5, you have published communications from Sir Michael O'Dwyer and Mr. P. A. Barton, attempting to present the other side of the case which the first letter advocated on behalf of the Mysore State with special reference to the abolition of the subsidy and the retrocession of Bangalore assigned tracts.

The full facts relating to both these questions are without doubt in possession of the Government of India and His Majesty's Government at the moment, and between them jointly they may be expected to arrive at a just and fair decision. As, however, you have given publicity to the views of important personages who claim to speak on behalf of the population of the assigned tracts and who unfortunately have confused the issues by mixing up the policy of Mysore regarding its entry into the Federation and her representations in regard to the subsidy and retrocession, I should like, having been closely associated with the Mysore State for a number of years, to remove some misconceptions which are likely to be created by the two letters mentioned above.

There is not much to be said about the subsidy which, to say the least, is a quaint survival and an

anachronism. The Mysore grievance regarding this matter has only been partly removed by the permanent remission of Rs. 10 lakhs out of the 35 lakhs payable a few years ago, and whether any further relief is granted or not, there is no question about the attitude of the Mysore State as regards the All-India Federation in view of the recent pronouncement of the Dewan before the Representative Assembly last June. Mr. Barton admits that the Trades Association's Memorandum certainly suggests that "Mysore is being induced by the Government of India to enter the Federation with the promise of the ultimate abolition of the subsidy and the immediate retrocession of the Civil Station of Bangalore." No doubt, an emphatic denial of this suggestion will come from authoritative sources, but one who knows the full circumstances of the case cannot help regretting that the agitation against retrocession of Bangalore should in any sense attribute corrupt motives or confuse the issues, and thus prejudice the Mysore case now pending settlement.

The question of the retrocession is a simple matter, as it does not involve any very important financial readjustments. Both the Civil and the Military Station of Bangalore are situated in the very heart of the State, and the administrative capital of Mysore lies within the Bangalore City adjoining. Many of the amenities of civil and social life of this up-to-date and progressive city are the outcome of

the liberal policy of the Maharajah of Mysore and his Government. Bangalore is also the seat of a modern university. Sir Michael O'Dwyer admits that His Highness the Maharajah has proved himself a model ruler, but does not put the case fairly when he states that the population, comprising 5,000 Europeans, 5,000 Anglo-Indians and 30,000 Moslems, "are as a body intensely adverse to the proposed transfer". Further, there is no analogy between the position of Berar and that of Bangalore.

I have only to add that the Indian population, representing over 130,000 inhabitants (since largely increased) residing within the assigned tracts are shrewd enough to realize that by remaining as they now are under the jurisdiction of the British Resident they will be denied the privileges of full provincial autonomy, which has now been granted to all the British Indian Provinces without exception. The Government of India Bill, which has recently been passed into law, does not provide for any exception to this general principle. Whatever may be the sentimental objection of the small minority of the 5,000 Europeans and 5,000 Anglo-Indians, surely by comparison the inhabitants will be better off if full civil jurisdiction is transferred to the Mysore Government, which, with a constitutional Sovereign at its head, has a Representative Assembly and a Legislative Council exercising substantial powers to influence Government policy.

Lecture on "The Influence of Political Movements
on Religious Thought and Feeling" at the
Richmond Free Church, London
November 1935

I wish to take as my subject of discourse today "*The Influence of Political Movements on Religious Thought and Feeling*". It is a big subject, and I know that with my limited knowledge and limited time at my disposal, I cannot deal comprehensively with it, but I hope to put before this congregation some points that may provoke a desire to investigate into this very big question, for no one can deny that the nations of the world are losing their old moorings, and passing through a kind of revolution in religious thought and religious feeling, for which the great political movements of today—mostly the aftermath of the war,—are mainly responsible.

James Martineau, the great unitarian philosopher and preacher, defined religion in his book, "*The Study of Religion*" as belief in an ever-living God, that is a divine Mind and Will ruling the universe and holding moral relations with mankind. No more rational or complete definition was ever conceived by any philosopher or theologian. This great teacher described several categories of religion without a God, and according to him they come under the following:—

1. Religion as reverence to higher men;
2. Religion as admiration of the beautiful without moral attribute;
3. Religion as enthusiasm in any form;
4. Religion identified with law;
5. Nature substituted for God;
6. Religion of humanity.

Now we have in the world an additional category:—
Religion as worship of the State and collective rule.

Beginning from the Far East let us for a moment look at Japan. In that country there is a new cult called Shintoism, described as "The Way of God". It inculcates a belief in the divine origin of the Japanese Imperial family and the specially favoured position of the Japanese people in the world. It is something like the "personification and deification of nationalism". Holtone, the famous lecturer in the Imperial University of Tokio described the movement as "complete abandonment of individualism in favour of the support of a State life organised around the principle of Imperial Sovereignty".

Of course, Japan has for over 2,000 years or more been the follower of Buddhism, but today the great political consciousness of the Japanese people has brought about a complete change in their mentality, and the desire mainly through the impact of Western civilisation, to become in the near future the supreme power in Asia. My experience of the Japanese people, not only in the great cities, but also in the

rural parts, convinced me of the fact that there is no trace of the old Buddhistic religion in the country. The temples are, for the most part, deserted. A very militant form of Nationalism has taken hold of the minds of the people, and with it the desire for expansion, the result of which we see in the aggressiveness of Japan in Manchuria. In other words, whatever spirituality was in evidence in the Japanese culture, has almost disappeared, and in its place a greed for material gain and material advancement is evident in all the activities of the nation.

Coming now to China, which for many years during the past half a century has come under the influence of foreigners and Christian missionaries, we find the stoic philosophy of Confucius giving place to an arrogant form of Nationalism, chiefly brought into existence by its conflict with Japan. Young Chinese students have gone to America in large numbers, and the present modern movement in China, so far as one can observe, is completely divorced from the old religious systems of the people. Whatever was good, pious and noble in the Chinese character, is gradually being confronted with a new kind of political ambition and a desire for consolidation of that vast country into one nation to enable it to withstand the onslaught of the next conquest.

Coming to Central Asia and the Near East, we see today Neo-Mohamedanism in an aggressive form of "International Patriotism inviting devotees

across racial and natural boundaries making all good Mohamedans Neighbours of Allah". You thus see a contrast between what is happening in the Far East, and what is the predominant influence in Central Asia and the Near East. In the Far East the religious sentiments of the people, before political movements began to have their effect, were based on a philosophy which did not believe in a personal God, and thus we see the effect of political movements in those parts of the world today is a complete negation of all religion, whereas in Central Asia and the Near East, where Moslem culture is still predominant, the revival of that culture has taken an aggressive form and brought into existence the Pan-Islam Movement, and in this we see Central Asia, Afghanistan, Persia, Turkey, and also Egypt involved. One must not however forget that since the war the spiritual power of the Ruler of Turkey was completely taken away from him, and that the Sultan's downfall and the advent of Kemel Pasha brought about a virile form of faith which is mainly associated with a sturdy nationalism and through which a new conception of State has developed, but this has today none of its fanatic anti-Christian religious tendencies which have been associated with the atrocities of the past.

Now let us for a moment come nearer to my own country, India. There we have the old Hindu culture which has stood the onslaught of successive invasions from the time of Alexander the Great.

Today, the struggle for political power as between the various communities has produced intolerance and a communal hatred which never existed before, and religion is not a sentiment of worshipping a benevolent God, but it is a weapon to be used for the furtherance of political ambition of the rival communities. The result is that for the first time in the history of India, which is a country noted for the intense religious feeling of its people, we see movements which want to eschew religion altogether.

I give the instance of two such movements, namely, "The Self-Respect Movement" and the "Youth Movement" in Southern India. The growth of Indian Nationalism has divorced the true religious instinct and the sentiments of the people from all their activities, which are characterised mostly as non-religious or extremely fanatic. There is, however, a reaction in some parts of India, to counteract such tendencies. A remarkable book was published recently by Mr. Brunton called, "A Search of Sacred India", in which he described an institution in Northern India called "The Garden of the Lord" and there, he said, the culture of the Yogi has been brought into the arena of social and industrial revolution. In other words, the culture of the Yogi is being modernised, and is not today exclusively confined to those who forsake the world and live and practise their Yoga in the innermost recesses of the mountains for their personal salvation.

"Why not a Yogi put on a worldling's clothing and mingle with the crowd where men command machines."

Amidst all these changes one wonders whether India will follow the teachings of material civilisation of Japan and Western countries, and yet be able to retain her inherent spiritualism. Or will there be a gradual reaction, and the Eastern inspiration towards a spiritual ideal again exercise its influence over the Indian mind.

Now let us turn our eyes to Europe. In Russia we see Bolshevism, with its anti-religious propaganda, and its belief that man's destiny is fulfilled in the goal of good citizenship and service to the State, after that—a great void, life is finished. I give a few extracts from Lenin's great book "Thoughts on Religion".

"The helplessness of the exploited classes, in their struggle with the exploiters grave as the helplessness of the savage in his struggle with nature, produces faith in gods, devils, miracles, etc. To him who works and is poor all his life, religion teaches passivity and patience in earthly life, consoling him with the hope of a heavenly reward. To those who live on the labour of others, religion teaches benevolence in earthly life, offering them a very cheap justification for all their exploiting existence and selling tickets for heavenly happiness at a reduced price. Religion is opium for the people."

"Science has shown that religion began with the worship of dead ancestors, and, indeed, at the very

moment when so-called elders of tribes, the richest, most experienced, and wisest old men already possessed material or moral authority over the other members of the society. At the beginning of history, when men still lived in herds like half-apes, they were equal. It was not till late that the elders emerged and began to assume lordship over the others. Man began by worshipping them; the worship of dead rich men is thus the basis of religion . . . It is an interesting fact that the Russian word for God, testifies to this origin of Religion. The term 'bog' God, comes from the same root as the word *bogaty*, rich. God is therefore strong, powerful and rich. What other names has God? He is called Lord, that signifies lord in contrast to slave; God is also called the ruler of heaven, and all the other titles of God, such as Governor and the like, point in the same direction. God is, therefore, a rich powerful lord, a slave owner, a ruler of heaven, a judge—in a word, an exact copy and facsimile of the mighty earth."

In Italy we see the struggle for power between the Church and the State in Facism, whilst in Germany the Nazi Movement again strikes at the Christian religion.

Mussolini in his biography, also said "Fascism gives impulse and vigour to the religion of the country—but it will never for any reason renounce the sovereign rights of the State" which means that Religion must be subordinated to the State.

Hitler in his book "My Struggle" said "The Necessary condition for producing a higher huma-

nity is not the State, but the race which possesses the essential qualities for it." Thus we see that he has aimed at the perfection of the German race to the sacrifice of all religious sentiment.

Now we go back to James Martineau and see how all these tendencies will work themselves out—as they are already beginning to in Russia.

"But in so far as religion is a matter of mature individual faith it will quite probably be strengthened rather than weakened by the period of trial and official disfavour through which it is passing. The Russian philosopher Soloviev described his countrymen as a "God-seeking people. It will not be surprising if in this world, old religious tendencies will be strengthened and new ones will arise."

Politics is only a transient human device as a means to an end. Religion has an innermost and permanent seat in the constitution of human nature and although it may take different forms of expression—it can never be eradicated, and so in every generation will come leaders to keep this torch of faith burning and through it all that is noble in man and in human civilization.

The great sacrifices being made today in the field of politics are nothing in comparison to the sacrifices demanded by religion in the past history of mankind. Man's need for spiritual salvation is due to the searchings and sufferings of the heart after a just God, there being no justice in the material world,

and no explanation of man's unequal destinies and undeserved trials and misfortunes; but religion has lost today its efficacy towards man's salvation, peace and happiness.

How to turn the tide is the problem which leaders of religious thought and sentiment in every country should join in solving. The Fellowship of Faiths Movement gives the opportunity: its purpose is to unite the inspiration of all faiths upon the solution of man's present problems.

The Fellowship of Faiths emphasised in the New York Session last year four of these problems:—

1. The spiritual recovery necessary for national and world recovery.
2. How to expand Nationalism into world unity.
3. How to displace racial and religious prejudices.
4. How to prevent war.

Shall we take this opportunity, or shall we follow still in our own narrow sectarian lines? The latter is a sure road to the ultimate destruction of religious thought and sentiment in the minds of posterity, both in the East and in the West.

May God help us with His Divine Light to avoid such a catastrophe.

Lecture on "Mexico" before the International
Club, Richmond, London
May 1936

Mexico is one of the most fascinating countries of the world. The topographical features are varied and the scenery picturesque and grand.

The origin of the name of Mexico is Mexile—War God. The arms of Mexico are the Eagle and the Cactus coming from the ancient history of the Aztecs. Geographically, Mexico is a plateau except the northern portion and consists of an area ten times as large as England with one-third of its population which is 15 million. 19% of this total are white. 30% pure Mexican Indians and 43% mixed. There are three distinct regions, tropical along the Pacific Coast, temperate, and cold with high mountains, volcanic in origin and some of them still snow-topped Popocatepetl. The highest is, next to which lies though quite separate a beautiful mountain called "The Sleeping Lady", nearly 18,000 feet above sea-level. Mexico is a Federal Republic of 28 States with a President, Senate and Chamber of Deputies. There are 150 different languages, spoken by the different Indian tribes, but Spanish is the common language.

The ancient history of Mexico is shrouded in hoary antiquities. Mexico possesses the strangest and yet most cruel of records of her ancient history.

Mayas, Toltecs, Aztecs and Zapotec ruins still remain after four thousand or more years, dotted all over the country, to cause doubt and speculation amongst the historians and archæologists. Some 5,000 years ago there existed people in Mexico who knew how to build monuments which even today teach you lessons.

A word about Maya culture. The peninsula of Yutucan is the store-house of valuable relics depicting Maya culture. There is a wonderful symbolism almost parallel to the ancient Vedic culture of India in which the forces of nature symbolised in divinities were worshipped with sacrificial rites, with this difference that in Mexico they were coupled with cruel human sacrifices. In sport, there still remains the ruins of the Grand Arena for base ball games at which the defeated captain had to be slaughtered. I must not forget to mention the Well for Human Sacrifices where to propitiate the Rain God, virgins were thrown in if they did not bring forth at the altar, passing clouds as harbingers of rain.

Mexico is famous for the ruins of the Maya period, the chronology of which has not been definitely fixed. The southernmost peninsula of the country was at one time the most populous and flourishing in Mexico, and even to this day is called Yutucan—the original Maya name. The work of the Carneige Foundation has for the past 15 years in collaboration with the Mexican Government dis-

covered many pyramids, palaces and tombs, and Dr. Morley who is head of the excavations, has been able to gather together ruined parts of the ancient temples to show birds, reptiles, animals of all descriptions including human forms representing victory and subjection. The most interesting representations made in Mexico, and beautiful colourings were those of the Rain God, the Corn and the animals like the Tortoise.

The Toltecs who came after the Mayas had their seat of activity thirty miles from Mexico City which is called Tutihucan, which is known as the Sacred City of the Golden Age and contains in pretty good form and preservation, the pyramids of the Sun and Moon, the temple of Agriculture, the road of the Dead, the temple of the Sun, etc. The temple of the Sun is the highest artificial mount on the American Continent being 760 feet long, 722 feet wide, and 216 feet high. The four points of the pyramid coincide with the four points of the compass. On the summit of this pyramid once stood a colossal statue of a single block of stone facing east, the head adorned with a plate of gold to catch the first rays of the rising sun. I was most impressed with the conception of all these structures put together, including the temple of the Sun and the pyramid of the Moon, all intended to show the origin of life, destiny and end. The Toltec civilisation still has its relic in the names of several places in Mexico which still

continue. They had written languages and castes like the Aryan Hindus, for they had warriors, priests, merchants and tillers of the soil. The land was held in common and yet the feudal system prevailed. The Toltecs and Aztecs who followed them were in the Central Plateau of Mexico whereas the Mayas already stated, were in the south. After the Aztecs came the Aztec Movement, represented by the ruins of Azteco where one sees in the types of idols still preserved, Egyptian features, Roman noses and thick lips. Their architecture, armoury and ornaments all indicate in 4,000 or 5,000 B.C.—a pretty high state of civilisation.

The mediæval and modern history of Mexico is indeed a romance which is like the landscape which shows evidences of great upheavals and changes. The people of Mexico have gone through great suffering and yet there is a contrast of restfulness and contentment amongst 40% of the population who seem to go through ages in their own sweet way, not minding what changes take place around them.

Spanish domination over Mexico commenced with Cortez in 1519. Spain and the Roman Catholic Church gripped Mexico for 300 years. The Church got possession of one-third of the country's entire property and the Spanish Government in league with the Church oppressed the people. There came about a fusion between the Spaniards and the women of the indigenous tribes and this produced the half-

caste Mexicans called Metishis, who are considered to be a very robust and handsome race not like the mixed races in other parts of the world. The Spanish domination in Mexico for three centuries is indeed a big blot in Spanish history and left traces which never will be wiped out from the mentality of the Mexicans as a nation. After several centuries the great revolution against Spanish domination took place in 1810 by Cura Hidalgo, an Indian Priest, and in 1862 it was headed by Jaurez and he was the first to see that the civil power and not the clerical body must govern the country. He overthrew the Catholic church, destroyed its vast influence, but another vicissitude overtook Mexico through the French invasion in 1863 when Maximillian was sent as Emperor, but he did not last very long as he was executed in 1867, and then came Diaz, who was really the founder of modern Mexico as Dictator, and continued President for 25 years. He built railways, started industries, improved agriculture, introduced national banks and developed the mineral wealth of Mexico for which it is famous—especially gold and silver.

The influence of Communism started during his time, and continues to this day. From the movements on the surface and inner currents underneath, a traveller is greatly impressed with the romantic past of Mexico but feels that her future lies before her like a blank page of a book on which she can

take up a pencil and write what she pleases. Who knows that within a century Mexico may become one of the most important and powerful countries of the world—a voice that must be heard.

I have given within the time allotted for this lecture a very general idea of the country which I have gained from a short stay of three weeks only in that part of the world, and it is indeed presumptuous for anyone to claim any knowledge of a foreign country and its peoples, and to impart that knowledge to his friends, but we in the International Club take every opportunity to create interest amongst the various nations in the world and thereby not only enlarge our outlook but also attempt to understand the points of view of the different peoples and nations regarding those vital questions that affect their well-being, prosperity and happiness.

I have travelled far and wide during the past seven years and although the impressions may be rather faint and the opportunities of knowing the conditions of the country and its problems rather meagre, I can say that Mexico as a country, that will remain in my memory as well as my imagination, is one of the most interesting that I have visited. Firstly, the origin of races in Mexico is a problem which has not yet been solved. The similarity of habits, customs, dress, superstitions between the different Mexican Indian tribes and those prevailing amongst many Indian races in India is so striking that

one wonders how these races have been able to survive thousands of years, no matter where they came from, for they could not have been the original dwellers of the land. Through successive conquests and vicissitudes of fortunes how they were able to maintain their racial characteristics and resist the fusion of races between themselves and the foreigners that came through successive centuries from Europe except as between the best types of both is a wonder. That is not all. The history of Mexico is a very interesting study. The attempts that have been made from time to time to establish order to develop that country, to utilise its abundant natural resources, to establish large industries such as mining, all create amongst the several foreign nations a desire to exploit Mexico for themselves. There are the Spanish—19%, even today and latterly there have been British, American, German, Swedish and Italian not to speak of the minor nations of the West, Jews of course being ubiquitous, take their wonted place in the picture. The result of it has been no co-ordinate effort to develop the country in the interests of the people, and even today there is this conflict of the ideal of the extreme Communism which has grown through the bitterness and hatred against the foreigner owing to his spirit of exploitation and the need for foreign co-operation of expert knowledge and capital which the Mexican people as such cannot command for themselves. Almost every day there

is a fear of a fresh revolution or an upheaval in Mexico owing to the several uncertain factors that exist in the political and national life of the country. Things seem to go on from day to day, and year to year without any very tangible prospects of a steady and continuous progress towards a contented and prosperous as well as a united Mexican nation. The fear is that it will for ever remain a happy hunting ground of the foreigners unless and until through a sound system of government, education and economic policy, spread over a series of years and developed continuously by disinterested patriots, real advancement is spread amongst the people.

Competition of the nations for raw materials and the rush for fresh fields and pastures new, must govern the colonial policy of countries like France, England, Holland, Germany and Italy; Mexico may be a victim such as Abyssinia is today under the dictatorship of Mussolini. Mexico is an illustration of the almost insoluble problem that is before the world today, namely, the question how the many interests of the various civilized nations of the world can be reconciled with a view to prevent aggression of the stronger upon the weaker nations, and also how, if such aggression is prevented by the common sense of collective justice through a better and a stronger League of Nations of the future, making war impossible, the interests of the peoples of backward countries can be adequately safeguarded so that they can be given the

necessary help to advance in their own way, economically and morally, to come up to the standard of civilized nations in course of time. Today patronizing inferior races and keeping them under tutelage with the only object of leading them on to a higher stage of mind is a thing of the past, owing to the inevitable spread of nationalism brought forward by the creed of self-determination which was preached so eloquently at the end of the last War. No nation, however backward, will tolerate the interference or conquest by a stronger nation; they would rather get exterminated as the Abyssinians have chosen to be, than submit to the dictates of any foreign power. The reflections weighed heavily on my mind when I said good-bye to Mexico, but with the great impression which its romantic past, its wonderful possibilities for the future and its charming people made upon me, I could not help wishing Mexico and her people a bright future and every success in the attempts that are now being made to galvanise the whole nation to a higher status which the country so eminently deserves to occupy in the future, amongst all the nations of the world.

"Some Economic Aspects in the Indian Problem"
Article published in the "Empire Review", London
August 1936

The fundamental factor underlying all outward manifestations of political unrest in India today is specially, if not wholly, economic. And in this, India is no exception, practically the same situation prevails in most countries of the world; even if the root cause be different.

In India, a country purely agricultural, it is not merely the fashion to cry for industrial progress; it is a natural and perfectly legitimate desire to be able to satisfy from her own abundant raw materials, at least some of her demands for manufactured goods. These, until recently, have been supplied by foreign countries with the aid of native raw materials exported in very large quantities, to be imported again in the shape of finished products. It is no doubt a vexed question as to whether India should restrict her export trade absolutely, or even partially, to set apart a fair portion of her agricultural products and natural raw materials for the development of all industries. There are many who consider it to be a suicidal policy to restrict India's export trade merely on sentimental and political grounds, without aiming at measures which would create organizations for the utilization of her raw materials in the country itself. Industries do grow through artificial stimulus, as evidenced by

Japan, but this pre-supposes in the first instance a very high standard of education amongst the majority of the people, and also a complete mastery over the means and methods of the distribution of manufactured goods overseas.

In India, the people being mostly illiterate and pursuing agriculture as their vocation, the growth of industries must necessarily be slow, and while the British economic relations with India continue according to present standards, India cannot have control over her railways, or shipping, upon which the distribution of her manufactured goods entirely depends. There are some, however, who believe that it is essential for the future welfare of the masses and general rise in the standard of living, that her people should be able to supply their own needs, not luxury articles, but such articles as clothing, domestic necessities and other goods, which for the most part, are now imported from foreign countries. To enable her to do this, they contend the State must restrict imports judiciously, and also subsidize those industries for which she has an abundant scope.

From an abstract point of view, this argument seems sound, but in its practical application to the present conditions in India, it is necessary to conduct extensive research not only in the field of village economy, but also in the field of production and distribution of raw materials. These can be classified under two heads: (1) Agricultural products;

(2) Mineral and other products which are found in abundance in all parts of India.

Under agricultural products, India exports cotton, jute, oil-seeds, tea, rubber and coffee, rice and cereals in very large quantities. She has exported very large quantities of manganese and other minerals, but till now there has not been sufficient scope to utilize these, for the purpose of manufacture. She also exports some miscellaneous raw materials, such as raw hides and skins, but they are decreasing in proportion to the growth of the tanning industry in different parts of India. If, therefore, any restriction is to be imposed on products, not food products, such restriction must be determined with reference to the ability of Indian industries to utilize them.

Admittedly Indian industries and industrial organizations have not yet been specialized to the extent that she can make use of the whole of her output under natural resources. Even if a part of her natural resources were thus utilized, the question arises, who is to determine the price, and whether the Marketing Board, to be established by Government, or open competition should be the determining agency. If it be the Marketing Board, established by the Ministry of Industries and Commerce, the task would be extremely difficult. For while, on the one hand, industrialists would require their raw materials at the cheapest possible rate, so as to enable

the industries at the initial stages to prosper, at any rate to fight against foreign competition, the producers will be considerably prejudiced if they have to sell a part of their products to Indian manufacturers at a rate less than the market rate, leaving no margin of profit. Supposing, for argument's sake, as a protection to the producers, the industries are subsidized and the State pays for the difference, after all, it is the taxpayer that has to pay for it and indirectly the consumer. So the whole problem becomes very involved.

Looking at it from another point of view, India has prospered and the balance of trade has been in her favour, so far as exports are concerned for many years, and if the agriculturists and those handling other natural resources are unable to find that they can sell in the foreign market, to foreign countries sufficient quantities at a fair rate, then the vast multitude of Indians fail to get a living wage for their labour. One would ask what is a fair rate. Naturally that depends on competition. Indian raw materials are very valuable to foreign countries; they are obtained and placed upon the market with cheap labour as compared to European countries, and competitive prices will help the Indian producers very largely. If, on the other hand, Imperial preference is to be followed as a principle, and India persuaded to come within that policy in the interests of the British Empire as a whole, then her raw

materials have to be placed in the hands of British manufacturers in preference to those of foreign countries.

This discrimination will be possible when tariff is imposed for the export of these raw materials to foreign countries, and greater facilities are given to the manufacturing firms in Britain, Canada and Australia, so that the healthy competition which always fixes a fair rate will be lacking. In either case the sufferer is the Indian peasant or the Indian business man who deals with raw materials like minerals, hides and skins. Thus the solution becomes almost impossible. India cannot be expected at the present stage of her political and industrial evolution to take a philanthropic view, but India has to pay a price for certain advantages and benefits which the British connection undoubtedly gives her; and what that price is and how it is to be determined without sacrificing her own permanent national interests, is the problem Indian statesmen and administrators have to solve.

It is relevant in this connection to make a brief reference to the discussion that took place in the Indian Legislative Assembly on March 30th last on the official resolution suggesting the appointment of a Committee to the Assembly to examine the working of the Trade Agreement concluded at Ottawa on August 20th, 1932, between His Majesty's Government and the Government of India. The Opposition

succeeded in defeating the Government by bringing forward an alternative motion, recommending the termination of the Agreement after giving six months' notice.

It cannot be denied that the attitude of the Indian producers as well as the manufacturers of the United Kingdom and the Dominions have all pressed for a revision of the Agreement from their respective points of view; but it is well to remember that the public opinion in India, which is reflected in the resolution referred to above, is not founded on political motives or arguments. This is evident from the declarations of the Leader of the Congress Party in the Assembly, Mr. Satyamurti. He said:—

"If the United Kingdom sends any delegation here to negotiate with us, we are perfectly willing to place our cards on the table and enter into a fair bargain in consultation with the relevant commercial and industrial opinion of the country.... There is no political bias or motive in this matter.... We feel that India's trade relation is such that, if she ties herself up to the United Kingdom, she renders herself weak, almost powerless with regard to other countries."

The decision of the Indian Legislative Assembly was undoubtedly influenced by the results of the past three years and also by the opinions and conclusions arrived at in the report of the Committee, appointed by the Council of State, to examine the working of the scheme of mutual preference between the years

1933 and 1934. There is also another official document—the Report of the Director of the Commercial Intelligence and Statistics in India on the working of the scheme. A brief reference to both these records may be useful to clarify the main issue involved.

The Ottawa agreements give a preference of 10 per cent. on many articles shipped to Great Britain. Under this scheme the United Kingdom stands to gain a very large proportion of the additional market, and India will have to impose an additional duty on non-British goods with a view to make good the loss on customs revenue from the import duties on British goods.

The British Government, no doubt, held out the hope that there will be an extension and development of export trade of India in addition to the reservation of the protection enjoyed by certain industries. We have now to see how far these hopes have been realized. From the Official Report, published by the Director of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics in India, it is difficult to arrive at any definite conclusion as to whether there has been that co-operation between the two countries which was the chief aim of the Agreement. India expected to derive certain benefits in connection with the exports on which she enjoys preference, and it was hoped that these preferences would increase her total export trade and thus help her production, chiefly agricultural production. The Director admits that effects

on exports of the Preferences received by India cannot be very clearly ascertained as the task of examining them is not a simple one.

Looking at the figures published in Appendix 2 of this Report, it is clear that, with fluctuations for the triennial period since the operation of the Agreement, India cannot be said to have obtained any appreciable benefit. It is a significant fact that most of the official publications on the subject do not devote any attention to this vital question but provide abundant statistics, illustrating them with comments and observations of a balancing character, that practically mean nothing, either to Indian politicians or the Indian mercantile community.

The Report of the Committee appointed by the Council of State deals vaguely with this matter. In answer to the first question, namely, what has been the effect on India's exports of the preferences granted to India; this Committee says: "In our opinion certain of the preferences definitely led to an increase, in India's exports, while others had an insurance value in preventing a loss of trade." Can an ordinary man-in-the-street understand the meaning of this observation? Yet the Committee says: "As a whole, the indications seem to be that the Preferences are of considerable assistance to India."

In answer to the question, what has been the effect on India's industries of the Preferences granted by India; the Committee says: "The indications

appear to us to be that the Scheme of Preferences has not adversely affected Indian industries." Why this negative assumption? Then again, take the third question : What has been the effect in India's revenues, of the Preferences granted to and by India? The answer of the Committee is: "It seems clear to us that the Preferential Scheme has in no way adversely affected the revenues of India." Comment is superfluous.

Indian commercial opinion on this very important question has been decidedly against these agreements. Such an opinion was embodied in a minute dissent, recorded by one of the members of the Indian Legislative Assembly, in the report of the Committee appointed by that Assembly. This minute is exhaustive, and although there may be differences of opinion as regards the political aspects of the case, the conclusions this member has drawn from the facts and figures are worthy of attention. They clearly prove my argument that no official enquiry has, up to date, resulted in a definite conclusion on the positive side to the effect that the Agreement of Preferences has benefited India..... The member categorically states that the Indian agriculturists, for whom the Scheme was professed to be valuable, are no better off....and adds: "The majority of the Committee observe that the export trade in the United Kingdom has proved—for both preferential and non-preferential articles—a steadier market than

foreign countries." He asserts emphatically that this is an unwarranted conclusion, and I think he has satisfactorily proved his point.

Mr. Brock in a recent article on India and the Ottawa agreement, published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, makes the following pregnant observations:

"It cannot be insisted too often and too strongly that the most potent factor contributing to the maintenance of the trade between India and Great Britain is to be found not in their political association but in the complementarily character of their mutual resources and industrial activities."

Now that the Agreements have been terminated, the best course appears to be to start with a clean slate, and when the new Indian Federal Parliament comes into being, to allow them to deal with this economic problem with full discretion which it will possess under the new Act, and with the fullest sense of responsibility, not only for British India but also for the Indian States. There are, no doubt, conflicting interests. India must preserve favourable balance of trade, and whether this can or cannot be done without the Preference is a matter of argument on both sides, but there is no reason why an Indo-British Economic Conference should not be convened to deal with the whole problem in London, at which delegates from British India and the Indian States could be summoned. If such a Conference

were held and the economic problem completely threshed out, their conclusions will be of great value to India as a whole when the Federal Government comes into being. Till then, there can be no hindrance to the two countries entering into an *ad interim* understanding so as not to widen the economic breach that may be caused by delay in reaching a final agreement.

Lecture on "What is a Woman after as I See Her
in the East and the West" before the
Goldsmith College, London
October 1936

Introduction.

The subject is provocative to say the least, and controversial. There will be sharp differences of opinion. I lay no special claim to deal with it comprehensively. The choice of the subject was not entirely mine, for there were two other alternatives put forward. It is, however, of most absorbing interest at the present time, when the whole world is changing and in every country the women are, so to speak, taking possession of a new realm. Personally I am taking a tremendous risk, for I am sure I will offend some and please no one. Yet few of the generation to which I belong—I was sixty-five last month—had as much opportunity as I have had to see for myself what was going on during the past half a century in the East and in the West.

A few personal reminiscences will not be out of place. My parents, and wife, sprang from the most conservative and ancient Hindu Brahminical caste. My father was a champion of women's rights,—worker for sixty years in the field of women's education and social service. He established the first Girls' School in Bengal in 1865 of which my mother was the first pupil. She was the first high

caste woman to cross the seas to come to England giving up time-honoured caste scruples and prejudices, and encouraged travel to foreign countries and change from illiteracy to culture. My daughter is the first Indian girl to be a composer of Western music—leader of artistic and cultural movements and she is Head of the Department of Music in the University of Nagpur. What a transformation in the outlook within the limits of one generation. More about this later when I deal with Indian women.

It is difficult to know where to begin, for one is tempted to discourse about woman—the mystery with which she is surrounded, and all that poets say and we mere men feel about her. But I am going to stick to my subject. From the title itself you will not expect me to generalise psychological and sociological doctrines about women, nor give a history of the feminist movement. I am going to give you my own impressions as to her ideals and aspirations, and what she really is aiming at. I may not be correct in my conclusions, and I shall be glad to be questioned on any point of doubt at the end of my lecture.

I may at once tell you I have travelled in the Far East, Persia, Turkey, Russia and all the European countries and America. I know England pretty well—was not only born and educated in this country, but had the good fortune to see a great deal of English home life and the work English women are doing

in various spheres during the past forty years. I saw the suffragette movement at its height and knew personally the first lady graduate of the Cambridge University, so far back as 1893. I have visited most of the women's colleges and universities abroad, specially in the United States and Central Europe, and had a good deal to do in my official capacity to organise women's education from the Kindergarten to the University standard in that very advanced State, Mysore. I know something about vocational training for women and the never-ending controversy about curriculum for women's education. Lastly, I have studied the statistics of marriages, birth-rate, etc., and know something about the conditions of woman labour and the great part women are taking in politics, and social service all over the world. Whatever I may say, therefore, is not like talking through my hat, and yet I can only deal with the fringe of the subject and I feel like "fools rushing in where angels fear to tread".

Externally a woman is easy to understand, appreciate, admire, love. Psychologically, she is a problem to herself and to the opposite sex. Does she know always what she is after, I wonder. But as I see her, I can say whatever the outward manifestations subconsciously, she is as though the ages after the fulfilment of her destiny, motherhood, though there are different phases and colourings disguising it. Love and marriage even today, in

spite of divorce proceedings and the cry for economic independence, are the main goal of womanhood. Marriage is still at a premium. Nature, "though red in tooth and claw" sees to that. Pessimism therefore is not justified on this point. Moreover, the modern young woman, well versed in the "Technique of the Love Affair" (have you read that most fascinating book?) can still fight for her economic independence, and yet entertain the idea of a husband. Marriage on the whole is still a success, and many married couples celebrate their Silver and Diamond Weddings even in these degenerate days when some at least advocate love friendships and companionate marriages. You see the modern woman's reflection in not a few stage-plays for example, in "The Dominant Sex".

Apropos of this I may say women do desire a change in the sex code and divorce laws, and will no longer be treated as property to be possessed by man. Love, honour, yes, but not obey. Besides, she has brought about a marked change in dress and conduct. Short skirts have become universally the vogue against the Victorian idea of immodesty when not even the ankle was shown. One piece bathing suit is the rule rather than the exception and nudist movements are the craze amongst certain people all over the Western World, in spite of the climate. Bathing in the nude is as you know a common practice in Japan, and now in Russia, and to show defiance

against civic restraint, the people in Japan fix a line made of straw to separate the sexes. Whether these tendencies are all for the good is not for me to say, but I do say this, the modern young woman in every country in the East and the West in spite of her freedom and nonchalant spirit, is a much healthier being morally and physically, and she has to be judged from a different standard not quite applicable to the Victorian period.

In love and marriage, whatever may be their views theoretically, in the West women in their heart of hearts still cling to the monogamous ideal, only they insist on equality of rights and obligations, if there is to be legal compulsion as against voluntary restraint. There are in some countries such as in Denmark and in Russia, a tendency towards the matriarchal system which is in vogue in Malabar. It must be admitted that man today in some of the Western countries, partly through economic and partly through other causes, is getting inclined towards extra-marital unions, often expecting women to reciprocate judging her wrong because she has changed by conduct and dress, and is free from many Victorian conventions. The truth is that women today who still retain their womanly instinct (and they are by far the majority) believe, and it is immaterial whether they do so from self-interest or not, that "the unmarried union is dangerous because it is subject to no recognised control, and because

being secret it has no inducements and no social help towards moderation and towards reasonable stability and restraint". May I also add that those that encourage such ideals, if any, are distinctly in the minority and mislead the otherwise honest and chivalrous men, of whom there are not a few in the present day. Yet I agree to a very great extent with the famous lines of Elizabeth Browning "the world's male chivalry has perished out, but women are knight errants to the last."

So much for love and marriage—a rather delicate subject. I now turn to the women who are working in a world of their own, separate from love and marriage at least for the time being, and they may be said to represent the Feminist Movement.

Today its extreme representatives can be classified under three heads. The young women who are after careers, sometimes in competition with man, so as to gain economic independence. The middle-aged woman, who, having realised in part the ideal of independence and economic freedom, reverts to the natural instinct of finding a home at a time when perhaps it is too late. She cannot build it alone, for at that stage her physical and psychic make-up often, though not always, lack those ingredients in her personality which make for co-operation and inter-dependence, and also tolerance, essential for successful marriage. The third, is the woman past middle age who, having successfully developed her

mental faculties and worked in certain spheres of public activities from the beginning, has gained confidence regarding herself and her capacity for organisation, direction and management. She aims at the ideal of work and service in many useful spheres where her guidance is needed, and considers marriage as affording too limited a scope for the exercise of her faculties.

In all these three cases, the woman obviously does not place marriage as the ideal she is after, although it is a question whether when and if an opportunity presents itself, in spite of her high education and supremely developed mental powers, she would refuse marriage as a thing to be avoided. The answer as I see her is in the negative.

Curiously enough, only the other evening I came across a rather racy article in the evening paper, of London, by Irene Stiles headed "This is the age of the surplus man—sigh no more ladies." Quoting vital statistics, from which it appears that more males than females were born in England and Wales during the first and second quarter of this year, she said that there are still over a million more women than men in this country. Referring to the last census report, she showed that out of 1,686,000 women without a husband, 1,597,000 are widows and the rest were past what is normally considered marriagable age. She further said, quoting the same returns, that between the ages of twenty-

and thirty-five (90 per cent. marriage taking place then) there are 105,000 more men than women. She asks her male readers "don't you prefer being the pursuer rather than the pursued". Then she concluded, "When women are too many or too powerful, men tend to soften and degenerate. Woman with a 'power' or clever complex makes a bad wife and mother, a degenerate man makes a worse husband and father." I agree with her.

Now I take you over the globe to make my survey of the East and West. It is befitting that I commence this survey from the Eastern countries. My knowledge of Japan and China is meagre. What one sees travelling in big cities or through a cursory journey in rural parts of a country, does not always present a representative picture. What I say therefore of these people—subject to correction—is based on a superficial observation. The Japanese woman, as I see her, is labouring under two opposing influences. Have any of you read the book "Racing Two Ways" by Barnes Ishimoto? The westernization, a somewhat vague phrase that has gone apace in Japan in every sphere of its national life, has affected the men more than the women. The struggle for supremacy in Asia has kindled a strong political ambition in which the women of Japan play a very small part. The Japanese man is not eager to seek her co-operation or her direct assistance on equal terms with himself in this great

struggle—for instance, no votes are given to women. She still is the mistress of her home, her education organised under a very elaborate system from the highest university standards to the lowest elementary grades is purely vocational and directed to improve her efficiency as a wife and as a mother. One can say that the women in Japan, with few exceptions, are not imbued with Western ideals of the feminist movement as we understand them because there has not been that necessity. As distinguished from other countries in the East, where, according to Western standard, the position of women is degraded and manifestly subordinate, in Japan there is certainly a sense of equality of status, social although not legal. There is no restriction in regard to the movements of men and women; there is no seclusion, nor is there that divorcement due to the separation of the sexes in social life which is to be found in the Eastern countries under Moslem influence or in India under the Hindu social system. With the spread of education and opportunities which are being increased year after year, the Japanese woman still remains the mistress in her own sphere and has no desire or inclination to encroach upon those functions which are primarily masculine. There are, no doubt, many Japanese women who travel to foreign countries for education, but when they return they do not remain westernized any more, outwardly at least. In national habits, such as dress, diet, social

customs, recreation, exercise, the Japanese people still remain their national characteristics and one cannot but admire the women of Japan, although the nation as a whole is the most westernized in Asia. They have succeeded in maintaining and preserving the respect, which the men have shown them for centuries. There is no conflict or antipathy and no bitterness or struggle and both men and women strive for the attainment of their own ideals without any discontent. They will never be a source of danger or disturbance in the equilibrium of social relations upon which the true foundation of family and national life in Japan rests today, unless the Western conception of Feminism encroaches upon the peaceful and placid atmosphere of Japanese home-life. Yet the Japanese women are no more the objects of romance "under cherry blossoms, in long sleeved kimonos" to quote the Baroness, who is a militant feminist imbued with ultra-American ideas; "nor are they now the puppet-like creatures once versed in tea ceremony and flower arrangement. Too true. I have visited many Japanese homes, modern and conservative, in Tokyo and in the countryside.

About occupation look at the facts. Eighty-five per cent. of women in Japan between fifteen and fifty-nine are engaged in some kind of work, but not in competition with men, for 1,300,000 work in agriculture, including sericulture and they

are never divorced from home-life to which they belong while working. Industrial workers number 800,000 which is small in a country with seventy million population, most of these come to industrial centres for three years and return to the villages after this period. I saw them working in Osaka cotton mills, in every sense feminine. What a certain section of Japanese women are after is indicated by the following extract from the Baroness's book: "Japanese women have not yet gained the right to vote, either in national or municipal elections. A Japanese woman cannot be a higher official than a teacher in a government school. None of us can be a judge, a lawyer, or a public notary. The elimination of every personal right, such as the ownership of property and independent action, from married women, is a terrible disgrace to our country". I do not however think that this picture of negation matters much, for the social life of Japan unlike in the West is not at all compatible with independent careers for Japanese women outside the family, such as are available in big industrial towns of Europe and America, and the majority of Japanese women who take life still from the artistic point of view do not seek such careers as their life's goal, nor do they want votes. They have plenty of scope to develop their artistic talents, though there is a movement amongst the minority called the Women's Suffragette Alliance, established in 1923.

The personification of woman as Maya is a Hindu conception often misinterpreted by Western scholars to mean snare and delusion. It is far from the truth. There is a more spiritual significance in the Hindu idea than is understood generally. She represents an abstract principle in nature, Prakriti; hence it is that society has been built on the sanctity of the family life and on the religious sacrament of marriage, against which there can be no divorce, although more than one marriage is allowed under certain conditions. This must be borne in mind to understand what the Indian women today are after, for the women's movement in India is not on all fours with the similar movements in Europe and America although the educated women in that country have joined the international women's organization which holds its annual session in different countries of the world. They have had the benefit of high university education and they look upon the questions, for the most part social, without being led away by the spirit of economic independence for which the women of the West are struggling. The reason is that Indian women, under their social system and customary laws, have no need for an economic independence. Every woman in India, no matter in what grade of society she is born, has a supporter under the existing laws which are legally binding and enforced in the Courts of Justice. Even a widow is entitled under the Hindu Law of Maintenance out of the joint

family income. Generally speaking, there is no woman who is unmarried, hence there is no question of career nor a need for demand of equal economic rights as between man and woman. I cannot say that those conditions will always prevail. The Indian women are now after the ideal of restoring the high position in which they were held in ancient India. They hold up the ideal of Seeta and Savitri and Damayanti. They are clamouring for more educational facilities, and reform of early marriage and marriage customs. They oppose the rigours of seclusion which casts a slur on their moral stamina. In fact, the Indian women are engaged in reforming the social system of India under which they are denied the educational, social and political privileges. Under the newly enacted Government of India Act, fifty women will be elected in special seats for the new Indian Parliament in the Indian Legislature. This is a great achievement of the women's movement in India' but in everything they emphatically do not wish to minimise the importance of family life and the necessity for every girl to be brought up and educated with the idea of the sanctity of marriage. Education of women will in future certainly be in the hands of women leaders who will surely take a leading part in social legislation, which would improve or abolish some of the existing customs that place married women in a lower status legally. In short, the women of India today are

proceeding in rational lines to conserve all that is the best in Indian womanhood and to take also all that is for the good and best in the West. If this combination be successful, the women of India will play a great part in future for raising the moral and spiritual status of women throughout the world.

Recently at one of the Literary Societies of India there was a debate on the resolution that education for women in India should not make them compete with men for all kinds of jobs. The resolution was naturally moved by a man and opposed by a woman, who, however, happened to be a married lady. The chairman of the meeting also was an Indian lady of distinction, who for some years held an honourable position of Deputy Speaker in the Legislative Assembly of Madras, which body consisted almost entirely of men members. The mover in the course of his speech made an assertion that the average modern woman in India was anything but what the Nation wanted her to be—this of course was a sweeping statement. The opposer of the motion urged that there should not be any water-tight compartments for women's and men's jobs, and if a woman were educated on the same lines as men she would undoubtedly be a better mother and a better help-mate to her husband. Here is a remark from another lady speaker at this meeting which is significant: "Women were mothers as well as daughters. If law-making were in the hands of women there was a

greater chance of justice, equality and goodwill." These indicate what the Indian women are after at the present time.

Coming now to the Near East, Persia and Turkey, my impressions are not so very distinct. I have not come in personal contact with women in veil, which is characteristic of the Moslem community. I have met very many cultured and refined Persian, Turkish and Egyptian ladies in the houses of friends, and that is an experience which is not open to foreigners in the ordinary course. The women of these countries are still, except in Turkey, suffering from great disabilities, which are partly the creation of their own religious beliefs and their social system. Until they are removed, they cannot gain the influence that women of the West are exercising, nor can it be said that they have any definite ideal before them. They have first to introduce reforms from within, as in India, and although the modern governments have done their utmost to help the women to come forward in the public life of the country, superstitions die hard and inferior position of the women in Moslem countries still remains as a fact, and things move slowly, and yet too quick a pace has proved disastrous, as in Afghanistan. In Turkey, however, things are totally different. By the Edicts of Kemel Pasha, the veil has been abolished. University education has been provided for; political rights have been granted and the Turkish women have been

able to seize the opportunities thus given to them, owing to the fact that they have been in contact with Europe and European civilization indirectly for more than a century. Pierre Lotti's "Disenchanted" gives a picture of the conflict of sentiment and custom that prevailed in Turkish homes with French and German governess, until the women were fully enfranchised. The ideal of the Turkish women today is to be on a level with their European sisters in every way, and thus they have become to some extent denationalized and lost some of their fine Eastern characteristics. This, from my point of view, is to be regretted. I for one would not like our Indian women to be entirely Europeanised in dress, manners and customs, forgetting their own traditions that are in no way incompatible with their social and political emancipation.

In Central Europe, in spite of the great strides women have made to gain equality and find careers for themselves now open to them, and for which they have proved their fitness, one notices today a reaction brought about by the dictatorships at least in two countries, and everyone knows what that means. It means nothing but the restoration of family life according to the old standards and encouragement of the married state by the offer of inducements and reduction of men's unemployment. We know in Germany the Nazi regime today has decided that women cannot compete with men for

jobs and that their place is in the home. Holding this view the Nazi Government has closed certain occupations to women and so ordered their education that their future activities shall be mostly in the domestic sphere. How far these government measures will succeed is indeed a question.

In France things remain pretty much the same. The marriage of the daughters is arranged by the parent's wish; freedom and liberty are enjoyed for the most part by the married women, but the French National sentiment is not very much in sympathy with the so-called feminist movement and French women still, and I have no doubt will for a long time to come, take life less seriously than their English and other European sisters.

In England, in many respects the most advanced country in the West, which was the first to fight for woman suffrage and where we see, although to a lesser degree than in America, the application in principle, of the equality of sexes in every sphere of life, the problem is complicated by the fact that there is statistically a preponderance of women as compared to men, and the difficulty that has increased in recent years after the first World War and which is experienced by the average young man of today of finding sufficient means with which to start a fairly comfortable home. If, therefore, the women of England of the young and marriageable age are crying out for an economic independence and full rights on

equal terms with men, and even further if they are attempting to oust the men from their positions which they have hitherto held, the fault really is not on their side. But the consequences cannot be overlooked. The effect on the population of the future cannot be minimised, and as it has been rightly emphasized in the recent discussions by scientific persons, there will be less births and a growing increase of old people in the world. Such a contingency will never arise in the East. I venture therefore to predict that if the tendencies which are in evidence in the most advanced countries of the West amongst the women of today of spinsterhood and delayed marriage continue unchecked, the very foundation of home-life will be shattered to pieces. English women in recent years have taken a saner view in all these matters. They have got the franchise which they exercise intelligently on the whole, but the crux of the problem as I understand in England, lies in the fact that most young women want careers with or without economic pressure. Careers *versus* marriage or careers *cum*-marriage is partly the problem today, yet I would back the latter to win in the long run. The trouble is as one of the English school-mistresses said publicly the other day, that the women have stored up a tremendous energy for which there is no proper outlet.

My impressions about America are rather mixed. I have undoubtedly the greatest admiration for the

American woman because of her versatility, culture, and the manner in which she is able to adapt herself to changing conditions. She is not only a good companion, but also she makes an excellent wife and a devoted mother. Apart from this she takes a leading place in social activities around her and is never lagging behind men in the various cultural movements for which America is noted today throughout the world. But one has to notice the great difference in the mental calibre of men and women respectively in America. The one aim of the American man is to make money. He puts forth all his brain, his energies, in fact, his heart and soul, to achieve material wealth. Ordinarily, he has no time left for anything else. Women, on the other hand, with all the freedom that they possess and the facilities afforded by the economic freedom which they have obtained, have ample leisure and ample opportunities in spite of the ties of their home, to so cultivate their minds as to give them the aptitude to become leaders of society in many spheres. Supposing this goes on for a century. What will be the result? It is supposed that sons take after the mothers and daughters take after the fathers. If this is generally true, imagine the consequences. The improvement of the breed on the maternal side through the perfection of the woman, will be frittered away in the course of a few generations. On the other hand, on the female side, the woman

will gradually become more and more inferior to man. Hence one has to guard against any kind of disparity in the mental and physical development of the men and women in the community or society to which they belong.

A good deal can be said about the ideal of the present-day women in Russia. The Communistic doctrine does in a sense affect home-life but it does not aim at the complete divorcement of women from their homes in which they can be wives and mothers. At the earlier stages of the Bolshevich experiment many features of the social life of the Russians were not clearly understood, as it was going through the period of transition. There was much amongst the life of the poorer classes, who had no culture or education, that seemed revolting to European ideals. But one has to remember that the fundamental principle of the Soviet System is that everyone born in this world is to be given an equal chance, and upon this principle is founded the system of society in which mothers must play a part so long as they are able and competent to do so. If not, the State considers itself entitled to take the custody in their own hands of the interests of the children. Much can be said on this subject, but I learned in Russia that the women themselves are determined not to be mere drudges in the home any longer. All the fetters of domestic drudgery which have kept women down in every country of the world and given

them no time or opportunity to become anything else but drudges are being removed in Russia by the State, and yet there is a distinct tendency to preserve the feminine instinct amongst the women of Russia by which in spite of their economic freedom and their economic equality with men, they welcome marriage and children, and according to their ability to perform the functions of a wife and a mother in a healthy and hygienic and also in a cultural manner, the State gives them every help in these matters. Here is an experiment which, in spite of its drawbacks at the initial stages, seems to combine those theoretical principles of economic independence or equality with the demands that feminine psychology as well as natural laws make upon human nature, namely, the formation of a system of society in which the future generation can be brought up to become healthy and efficient citizens of the State.

One can write volumes on this interesting subject. If any one of you want to know more about Russian women today, I will recommend F. W. Halle's book on "Woman in Soviet Russia". To understand them and the great upheaval that has taken place amongst them in recent years, you have to follow Russian history about the position of women in that country from the sixteenth century, which was worse than perhaps any country in the East or West. They were in effect treated like slaves. According to an old Russian proverb, "a hen is not a bird,

nor a woman a human being". Their liberation took a long process, starting from the time of Peter the Great in 1704. Coming to more recent history, they took a leading part in the revolutionary movement. Here is what Halle says about them:

"They were all young, these revolutionary women; some of them brilliant, beautiful, gifted with artistic powers, richly endowed by nature in intellect and soul (Vera Figner, Ludmila Volkenstein), womanly to the core and so created for happiness in their personal lives. But in spite of their intense capacity to feel and experience with them, as with the men revolutionaries, the personal erotic element, the woman, was always second to the universal, to that love of mankind which threw everything else into the shade. And the resulting marked characteristic of chastity, of purity in the mutual relations of the sexes, which gave its tone to the whole of that and the succeeding generation of Russian intellectuals, as well as the atmosphere of comradeship in Russian student circles which has so often been misunderstood in Western Europe, still prevail in the relations between men and women in Soviet Russia, and is a constant source of bewilderment to foreigners whose attitude towards the problem is wholly different."

Today, gifted women in Russia have access to the highest posts. I had the privilege of meeting Russian women in factories—some of them were University graduates, and at least one representative of the diplomatic service was Russian Minister in Finland. It may interest you to know that in

village Soviets there are twenty per cent. women members and five thousand women Presidents.

To conclude, women influence the whole of life and help to mould its new forms by their determining action, for nothing is done without them, much less in opposition to them, and mother and child occupy not only a prominent but a central position in public interest.

In the Victorian Age sedateness was the highest virtue. Have not times changed since then? If any one of you has read that wonderful novel "*Rebel Generation*" by the great Dutch writer, Van Kuler, the gradual transformation of the attitude both from a man's as well as from a woman's point of view of this question would appear to such a reader in a very graphic and yet pathetic manner through the characters of this book. Is it not true that what is truly feminine is what a man thinks to be so in his own interests and even from that angle of vision is it not relative in the sense that it changes from generation to generation? Whatever may be her ultimate goal a woman is no longer to be considered a mere biological necessity, nor the incarnation of Maya. Both these conceptions, one a realistic one, and the other purely imaginative, have now ceased to exist. Was it not Kant, the great philosopher, who said, men and women complete a human being. Both sexes supplement each other." Amidst the changes through which she is passing, I would, as a man, still say to the women:

"In hours of ease
Uncertain, coy and hard to please,
But when sorrow and anguish rings the brow,
A ministering angel thou."

She can be a truer angel in spite of her high education and intellectual powers, with liberty of action in many spheres and thus co-operate with man in all national activities irrespective of country, language, or climate in both East and the West.

**Lecture on "The Outlook of Youth Today on Life
generally, with Special Reference to India"
at the City of London Vacation Course
August 1937**

Youth is a perennial subject of discussion from the time marking the cradle of civilisation. Age studies youth's psychology and trains it. Discipleship is the old Hindu system of education in which the teacher "Guru" and the pupil work together in harmony following particular courses of instruction. Elders help to make youth find itself, as youth is a riddle to be solved and a reflection of the mystery of nature unfolding and unravelling with experience. The conflict in nature, if any, between youth and age is imaginary. In human life it is due to struggle, lack of co-ordination and competition. In nature age gives way to youth. The solitary bull-bison leaves the herd and roams alone without regrets—a magnificent creature. In human society youth is under more restraints and subjection than in nature, and youth wants a move on. Age lingers, hence a seeming conflict and the misunderstanding between the two.

I wish however to dwell on the best aspects of the youth outlook, the positive and not the negative side though much can be said about the latter. No generalisations are just on negative manifestations of life and society of individuals or nations. Special

features that are noticeable in all countries including India about youth are:

- (a) revolt against existing order of things;
- (b) robust optimism against the most depressing and crushing economic forces;
- (c) fearlessness and daring;
- (d) defiance against time and space.

Visualise the long vista showing a rugged path with milestones prominently marked. Youth begins the onward march with an equipment sometimes too heavy to carry, often distracted by the loudspeakers and other scientific inventions. Cinemas, speed contests, record-breaking examples in physical and mental gymnastics are crowded into their life. With time, milestones pass quicker and quicker. Pace grows and many are left derelict on the highways while others speed on. Some are unfit and unbalanced in the struggle, roam in vagabondage, or commit suicide while normal ones get to the summit of the hill.

Dwelling on the physical outlook, we came across the various youth movements such as Boy-Scout, Balila, Zocol, physical culture, health and efficiency movements in the different countries in Europe which all culminate in the world's Olympic contests. In considering the social outlook of youth, we find a new mentality in respect of love and marriage according to which there is a lesser influence of elders or the family interests. Even in India it is so. In this country, outlook of youth about sex relations is under-

going change with the freedom of intercourse, co-education and the rest. There is a healthier conception of companionship of study between boys and girls, in sports and careers. This comradeship removes many false notions about sex. It is said with a certain amount of truth that it is the old who talk and the young who do "All the world over youth is becoming all-important even in the realm of education which lies on the border-line of talk and ideals". Old people sit in leagues, councils, committees, young men do the work. Yet the bug-bear of unemployment makes youth sullen and discontented. This brings about impatience leading to defiance of authority, knocking over the traces over any kind of discipline and restraint. This is partly due to the tyranny of elders in the economic struggle.

In political outlook, youth is socialistic in tendency and full of resentment in the slowness of the political machine of Democracy. Youth wants to get a move on, hence there is a leaning towards Dictators. The European Dictators have the youth under their thumb, even Mahatma Gandhi has been in more sense than one, a Dictator amongst Youth. The old order changes for the new in every age, but now the changes are more rapid especially in India, and youth is unable to keep pace with them. Age hoary with wisdom only nods and has lost all prestige of the "Guru" and master. The defiant atheism of youth which Hindus in his book on Russia,

"Humanity Uprooted" emphasised, is spreading all over the world.

Generally speaking, youth of today is out of sympathy with their elders who are considered too capitalistic, too conservative and bound by vested interests, traditions and prejudices. The elder suffer from fear and deplore modernisation in everything. The youth have little respect for the rigidity of conviction of elders, resent tyranny oppression or discouragement of originality. The three favourite "C's" of youth are of Courage, Conviction and Comradeship. The three favourite "P's" of age are Power, Position and Patronage.

Today one sees there is a misfit somewhere. The most deserving do not succeed. The best brains often remain discontented lacking opportunities. Science and invention instead of increasing employment only tends to reduce its scope, whereas new ideas of progress, new theories of State and Government find adherence more amongst the youth than amongst elders. Is it not possible for States and Governments to do something to harness all the power, energy and capacity that goes to waste and to remove glaring misadjustments in the social and economic world?

Youth holds the key which it has wrung from the elders and in attempting to hold the portals of success and achievement is making huge sacrifices—to them life itself seems of no consequence except to be used

for a definite purpose. The peace ideal of youth today is a great asset to civilisation and humanity, but it has to be put on a basis of international understanding through a reconstituted League of Nations in which young and elder statesmen can play a part and are able to enforce their decisions. The elder statesmen of the world of nations have to devise means to make use of the supreme sacrifice youth is ready to make and is making by example. By sympathetic companionship between youth and age, both can build up a great wall against all wars, to preserve human civilisation not only in India but also in every country, in the East and West including the great American Continent.

Lecture on "My Impression of U.S.A. during My
Lecture Tour", before the International Richmond Club
October 1938

Introduction

The subject will naturally strike one as attractive, and you may expect me to relate to you many anecdotes of interest which will give you a picture of the United States as a lecturing country, but that will take me a much longer time than is at my disposal. I propose however, after my brief lecture, to answer any questions that may be put to me, either by way of eliciting further information, or clearing any doubts that may arise in your minds on any interesting point. I am not going to deal with politics or subjects of a controversial nature. My reason is this. Although there is a good deal of talk about Anglo-American friendship, and even such a highly-placed authority as the American Ambassador in the Court of St. James speaks so eloquently about the need of such friendship, it is nevertheless a fact that English people do not understand the Americans, nor do the American people understand the English. But the big pond that divides the two countries can be crossed in four days by water and twelve hours by air. Even though the distance has thus been annihilated, the want of understanding will persist, which, no doubt, is unfortunate.

America is the most lecture-minded country in the world. Commercial lecture agents throughout

the length and breadth of the States do a most lucrative business as a rule, although some of them suffer loss when they are speculative. The lecturers are like any other commodity, bought and sold, and the agents employ special agencies, mostly educated women, to secure engagements for the lecture bureau, and arrange the details of the contracts. There is keen competition amongst the several agents, although as a matter of etiquette they try to work within certain areas without encroaching upon others by mutual agreement. The organisations have a definite plan every year during the two seasons, the first of which is called the "Fall", meaning the Autumn season, and the second, the Winter, and each with a programme of 8 or 10 lectures throughout each season, and they try to fill the programme of these bureaus. The subjects are varied, including social, political and economic questions of the day affecting the whole of Europe, nay, perhaps, the whole world, and also sensational topics like big-game hunting in Africa. Between the two ranges of subjects, there are others which are of instructional character, relating to scientific inventions, travel experiences in other countries, archæological researches, and so forth. At one of the places that I appeared on the platform, my immediate predecessor was talking about lions. The one before that talked about aeroplanes. The organisations sell the season tickets for the whole course of eight lectures to the people

of the town or city, as the case may be, and pay a lump sum to the bureau for each lecture contracted for. The desire or thirst for knowledge about everything under the sun through these lectures is so keen and widespread, that the subject, rather than the lecturer receives greater attention, to start with and then the individual is given the widest possible publicity. Portraits of the lecturer are shown at practically every shop-window; leaflets and handbills are distributed, giving racy accounts of the previous history and career of the lecturer concerned, and the publicity expenses are sometimes incurred by the lecture agents to start with, and locally they fall on the organisations. These are for the most part the local town-halls, which each have a forum, high schools, colleges, normal schools for training teachers, Free Churches such as the Unitarian and Presbyterian congregations, Rotary Clubs and Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A.

People in America are well known to be gullible, said Mrs. Fisher, at the meeting in the Fisher Theatre in Detroit where I spoke, although they have learned to take with just a fraction of a grain of salt what they hear, and the desire for sensational talks has to a great extent abated by the growing discrimination and desire for facts. The American people have been deceived more than once owing to their gullibility which encourages people to tell them a lot of things which are not true. They still love racy talks with sensa-

tions, such as produced by acrobatics in a circus. Talks on India which naturally must deal with her various social, and economic problems, their economic transformation does not interest the average American, not so well informed of world affairs. What interests them mostly is something out of which they can get a kick—to use a well-known American expression (Tigers, Gandhi, half-naked fakirs, the rope-trick, etc.). The women are a bit more educated in this respect than the men, and are more interested in the cultural aspect of talks about other countries, which is apt to be dull rather than exciting, such as racy Indian stories about adventure and sport which men generally prefer. What I felt was that however educative the purpose may be in arranging lectures of the sort I delivered, neither the audiences nor the lecturer felt they were pulling together except on a few occasions. Hence, if any one promises the stories of Princes' palaces and their intrigues, tiger hunts and elephant catching operations, Gandhi's food and fasting, gruesome stories of British misrule, the Independence Movement and the nautch girl, people will eagerly come forward to buy the lecturer everywhere. Professional lecturers, such as explorers, famous aeronauts, and big-game hunters are a class—knowing American psychology and no matter what they talk about, mixed truths and untruths, make their fare palatable. The lectures with an educational purpose are dull and put the audience

to sleep; as to the rest—it is all attention and devours every word and watches every gesture and movement with which they are embellished with avidity.

The Scope of Lectures during My Tour

The publicity that my agents gave included so many topics, that to deal with them adequately, one should have several weeks. The main subject was “India in the World Today”, but sub-heads, included such questions as: Emancipation of Indian Women; Why Hasn’t Communism Spread in India; What Effect have the American Exclusion Laws and on Indo-American Trade; What has Happened to Gandhi; Will the Indian National Congress Co-operate with the New Federal Government; and What Effect Japan’s Trade Invasion of India had on American Cotton Sales; Is Mother India a True Picture of India or a Slander? What is the New Federal Government; Dominion or State or Commonwealth? How much will the Women of India participate in the New Government? Has India Advanced under British Rule; Is it True that India buys more Today from Japan than from Great Britain? Why should the King of England Come to India to be Crowned Emperor?

Impressions

(a) *Journeys.*—The country is so vast that one doesn’t realise at the beginning what a strenuous undertaking it is to travel from place to place, and to deliver five to six lectures a week. Travelling in

America is always a rush, the stream of men and women coming in and out of the different exits and entrances at the larger stations gives a picture which is somewhat standardized even in regard to the baggage that is carried by the people, except on occasions when people are travelling on a holiday and this I did not have the opportunity of witnessing. One can say that there is a set look on the faces of the travelling people, both men and women. They have a goal to go for; a distance which they expect to reach for some definite object, and because of this they try to do everything in the shortest possible time, and those that can afford the expense, do it with the maximum amount of comfort that they can command with their purse; even this, to my mind, doesn't appear to be commensurate with the money spent. Take the sleeping car arrangements for example. Unless one goes into a compartment, one has to share a section, as they call it in America, with another, without any privacy whatsoever. The discomfort of dressing and undressing, washing and knocking against everybody in the attempt, doesn't seem to affect in the least the calmness of temper with which the American people travel. As one strange to these conditions, it struck me as almost verging on the ludicrous to see men sitting on their bunks with their legs and bare feet stretched out putting on their boots and shoes, hidden by the black curtain, thus making a ghostlike picture.

It was noticeable that the majority of travellers in sleepingcars were men. Do the women travel during the daytime or in parlour cars? That is the question I have not been able to answer myself. Perhaps, long distance travels are done by married couples or single woman in compartments or it may be that women do not travel as much as men. They have the money which men make for them, and they stay at home spending it, and interesting themselves with some interesting occupation for which they have ample leisure, while their husbands are away. Of course, the working women do travel, but this they do to reach their places of business, and such journeys do not cover more than, say, a couple of hours at most. In other words, the travelling public are in so far as the males are concerned in the majority in America.

The service relating to carrying of baggage, restaurants, ticket officers, guards, conductors, ticket collectors is as varied in America as it possibly can be. Porters are without exception coloured people. They are a class in themselves. They come from the mixed coloured races but you hardly see a fair man amongst them, nor do you see a full-blooded negro employed by the Rail Road Companies as conductors or porters. I suppose demand is more or less the determining factor for the supply and the nature of the work done by this class would necessitate a certain amount of personal hygiene and habits

which would harmonize to some extent with the feelings and susceptibilities of the travelling public. For example, I don't think that any American would like his bed to be done by a full-blooded negro, nor would I like the same idea myself. These half-caste American citizens have sprung from the need that there was for such a class to do the work efficiently as required of them which no white man would condescend to do in America nor would the Rail Road Companies afford the wages that would be demanded by such men. Everything takes its own level in this world. It is a kind of middle course which has been taken in regard to the transport service and there is caste system prevailing amongst these services. For example, the porters who stand about the stations' public halls are a lower class than the half-caste Americans who are in full charge of the cars. Then there is a middle caste, namely, those in charge of the restaurant as waiters. Above these come the Conductors who are white men invariably. One never sees a coloured man going about with a lantern or with a ticket collecting book hung over his shoulder. Now this is very significant, and one may question as to why the honest, reliable and experienced half-caste men have never been employed in this higher class of transport service in America. Even in India the half-caste can rise to higher classes of service such as a stationmaster or a guard, but I have never seen a coloured man in America occupying such posts.

The same remarks apply to the hotel services although I have been surprised to see in some of the provincial hotels coloured people employed as waiters and room servants and coloured women also employed to run the lifts. As regards the clerical service—there is an absolute ban against the coloured and the half-caste men and women in America. Women amongst the coloured races, and the half-caste people don't seem, therefore, to get much chance of rising to any position of respect in the transport and hotel service in America. They are for the most part relegated to domestic service. They are cooks, nannies, housemaids and never get higher. I have seen advertisements in the papers from coloured women seeking positions in the commercial offices of cities, but I don't know what percentage of posts available are really occupied by coloured women in America. I think very few. In restaurants, tea-shops, fruit stores, drug stores, one hardly sees coloured people at the counter. This appeared to me rather strange. In big stores, and even smaller shops for clothes, hats, coats, trimmings, jewellery, household goods, I have seldom seen coloured people employed in business in the hands of white people. I have not come across any stores owned by coloured people with a clientele amongst the white people. It therefore seems that all the smaller shops, as well as the larger organisations for the exchange of commodities of every description in

America, are in the hands of the whites. Business, if any transacted or owned by the coloured people, are confined to barter and exchange amongst themselves, for a while man would not open a shop in a neighbourhood or centre inhabited for the most part by coloured people and *vice versa*. A coloured man would not open a shop expecting business to be done by him with white people. This economic condition naturally created an impenetrable strata between the whites and the coloured people in the U.S.A.

(b) *The Countryside*.—Travelling as I did over five or six of the largest states in America, I had a very good idea—especially as I went off the beaten track on several occasions—of the general view of the country. My tour began in February. The winter in America, as you know, is particularly severe. There is snow and ice everywhere. Motor-ing on roads is dangerous, and the trains, in spite of every precaution, are sometimes held up—being blocked by heavy falls of snow. Unpleasant as some of the journeys I made were, I found the country looking almost at its best in its wintry garb, with icicles covering the trees, ice on the lakes and the hills and dales, beautiful, glistening with bright sun-shine over which in many places there were winter sports. This was particularly noticeable in Buffalo, and in the district of the Niagara Falls, where I had three or four engagements. In spite of the grandeur of the landscape, certain impressions struck me

forcibly about the country. The first was that its vastness compared even with India. Secondly, the long distances, the sparse population in the country parts, which have yet room for several million people. Yet, such a vast country has been brought under man's control from one end to another, north, south, east and west, by an agency of just over one hundred million people. No such phenomena has ever taken place before in the history of the world, and there is no parallel in any of the countries of Europe, Asia or Africa. What is the deduction? It is this. That the average American man and woman have after a brief space of 200 or 300 years succeeded in producing a civilisation for themselves, totally unmixed with the indigenous inhabitants whom they have almost wiped out. This civilisation has spread in the nooks and corners of U.S.A., and is almost standardized, replete with every modern comfort and a high standard of living chiefly through the pioneer efforts of original settlers and their successors in the field of industrial and commercial development. The spread of population per unit of area has been restricted to enable the people to enjoy the blessings of their high-grade economic progress. Leaving aside large cities, which are few, the population in the majority of them does not vary between a quarter to one million souls. In rural parts the farmers have not any neighbours, and yet they have large estates to manage. After the enactment of

the Alien Acts and the Emigration Laws, more than a decade ago, the ingress of the undesirables has been checked, although the influx of European races, especially of Latin origin, of Southern Europe, was restricted, and the growth of population is still under control by the quota system of emigration. As an outside I have my own ideas as to how far the constant policy of keeping a higher level of the standard of living, will ultimately succeed the normal healthy growth of a powerful nation in the States without the influx of fresh blood.

The landscape and scenery have been greatly affected by the mentality of the people, who are primarily concerned with the exploitation of the country's natural resources. The scenery in America strikes one who has travelled a great deal, as being very much mutilated in certain parts by large industries. Take, for example, the utilisation of power in the Niagara Falls. The landscape, passing through many towns, both large and small, gives an idea of beehives that have sprung up at frequent intervals wherever there is any kind of natural resource, such as timber, mines, stone-quarries, water-power, and facilities for transport. Looking at the landscape and the scenery from the observation-cars which are a common feature in railroad travelling, I was impressed by the fact that everything is almost a new creation. There is nothing of historic tradition left in regard to the buildings of a new town or city.

There is no background of either historic value or cultural interest which may instil a pride in the hearts of the inhabitants belonging to the soil, so to speak. Supposing America is invaded tomorrow by a foreign aggressor, the American citizen will no doubt defend his house and his property, but will not have, at least for some time yet to come, that kind of inherent love and patriotism for his Motherland or Fatherland, as you may like to put it, which the British, French, German, Hungarian or Italian may feel under similar circumstances. The Americans as a nation feel that it was not their country and the roots of national life have yet to go deeper into the soil for, after all, even if some of the old Red Indian names of cities and localities still remain, there must be a feeling that the country did not belong to them, and the old sturdy indigenous inhabitants have been ruthlessly denied the opportunity to remain or to develop. These Red Indians, as I said before, are practically wiped out. There are a few settlers here and there, and they are under Government protection, more as living human museums and curiosities than anything else.

The grandeur of the country, however, is not untouched: we have signs of material inventions finding abundant scope to conquer Nature's impregnable fortresses, but the Federal Government with their very good National Park System, prevented man's greed from exploiting to the utmost,

the primæval forest growth of thousands of years in California and other States.

The industrial progress is so rapid that nothing lasts for long in the States. Even small towns are rebuilt almost every ten years. Most of these industrial towns appear to the passer-by as very ugly and of the "jerry-built" pattern. Of course, I do not mention such instances as large cities like Chicago, where there is every endeavour made to join the amenities of city and country life in a vast organisation.

(c) *The Women of America*.—I have already mentioned one circumstance which makes the women of America so interesting, and that is: abundant leisure, mainly due to the freedom from domestic drudgery due to labour-saving devices, and also the high standard of living, all of which allow the women a larger share of the comforts of life. They have also time to improve their minds. Even those that have worked their way up from domestic service to higher positions in the social and political life of the country, have greater leisure than men, have shorter hours of work if they are working women, and when they rise to higher positions, have several other interests and associations connected with their work, through which they come into contact with a larger circle of people, that keep their minds fresh, and always ready to receive new impressions. It is not always true to suppose that American women,

having been emancipated to the fullest degree, are averse to family life, or to having children. In fact, I have found women of all types, whether working girls in large or small organisations, whether married or unmarried, or leaders of society or leading hostesses in the biggest cities, like New York, full of charm and with a much broader education than is generally found amongst the women of their class in other countries of Europe. There is thus a great disparity noticeable between the men and women in these respects, and judging from all that I saw, it seems to me evident that it is the women of America that have made the nation, (and not the millionaires and the monied classes, the majority of whom are narrow minded capitalists) and that are really responsible for the high grade of this civilisation.

"America's Secret", a book by J. Ellis Barker, says "Having the means to buy and to command, women became powerful arbiters in all matters of taste, morals and thinking. In short, they called the tunes to which captains of industry, men of letters, educators and artists now practically danced." The Cynic cannot but be reminded of Cato's complaint:

"All men rule over women, we Romans rule over all men, and our wives rule over us."

I must admit, having visited practically all the universities of Europe and America, and also having come into contact with the younger generation during this Lecture Tour, that whatever may be the

drawbacks of the system of education, it is far ahead of anything that is in vogue in England, and for that matter, even in Germany. Of course, English people, from what they are accustomed to, do not always understand the terms used as regards the different grades of institutions, viz., universities, colleges, high schools, etc. For example, a working girl during her leisure hours goes to a college to get a degree or diploma. There are so many different educational authorities in the States that give degrees and diplomas that one is not able to distinguish them from European standards. There is no country that I know in which education has been developed to the extent that any kind of training under this system is within the reach of every citizen irrespective of class or sex. Although, therefore, the country is standardized in every respect, there is one sphere of national life in which there is no standardisation and in its widest sense, every citizen has the opportunity to avail himself of what he considers best for his own development.

Here is an other extract from the book "America's Secret":

"America is a land of opportunity. It is the stronghold of individualists. In the United States democracy and authority go hand in hand. The ordered liberty and energy of Rome prevail, and the conquering spirit of their Norman ancestors animates the people. Men are given every chance to

develop their gifts to the utmost. The democratic principle has opened all positions to the poorest. Ability is rewarded with success and is given authority and power."

(d) *Religion*.—In his book, "This American World", Edgar Mowrer says, "American religion is one of the most thrilling wilderness in the psychological domain and simply defies generalization. Here is nearly every type of creed and practice that whole centuries of history offer."

'In one sense we are almost pagan. We do not consider this earth, this century, this country, essentially unpleasant. We are in no hurry to push on to another world. For the most part, we are self-satisfied and uncritical. Still, our human state does fall short of absolute blessedness. What we therefore seek is relief here and now. To fill the void formerly occupied by Puritanism, we have invented or taken over a certain number of mystico-materialistic doctrines peculiarly our own.'

The variety of churches, congregations and religious orders in America is almost bewildering. There is every form of religious doctrine or creed, commencing from the wildest and most emotional manifestations, such as those of Amy Macpherson, to the highly agnostic and extremely philosophical ideas of the materialistic school, which believes in nothing but time and space. This does not mean that the Americans were a God-less nation, and that the

only God they worship is Mammon. The average American man in business is not so materialistic as one may suppose. He regards money-making in the same way as big-game hunting or adventure of the most exciting and absorbing character. The economic instinct amongst Americans raised to its highest pitch is almost a synonym for Americanism. But with them "business is not primarily a method of making a living, not even an interesting occupation. It is their chosen field of high adventure," as stated by the author from whom I have already quoted. If he makes money, he spends it. Except a few millionaires, the majority of rich people in America are the greatest spenders in the world, the greatest benefactors, and the greatest philanthropists, also the greatest patrons of music, art and literature. Mellon, who died the other day and who has established that wonderful Fritz Collection in New York, set a wonderful example of this type. This Collection runs up to several million dollars, which came out of the private purse of the benefactor. There are many other examples of the same kind.

Conclusion

My lecture tour ended with the satisfaction that I was able to spread some correct ideas about my own country amongst the people, who are greatly interested in it, but not through any political or economic purpose in view. Also, because I thought that there was a great deal of misunderstanding

as regards the Indo-British relation, especially amongst those who are anti-British in the States, and who are always eager to exaggerate facts and incidents arising in India which illustrate the extreme form of Indian nationalism. Personally, I greatly benefited by the Tour, having learnt many a modern lesson in regard to the management of large industries, development of economic wealth of the country, and the study of social questions in which the women of America are now taking a leading part. These lessons are of great value at the present time to my fellow-countrymen in India.

**“States and Federation—Need for Revision of Treaties”—Article published in the “Hindustan Times”
November 1938**

The *Times*, in a leader in its issue of Saturday, October the 29th, commenting on the political situation in India on the eve of the Viceroy's return after his well-earned rest, makes some pregnant observations on the burning question of the day, namely, the All-India Federation, upon which depends the introduction of the most important part of the reforms promulgated by the Government of India Act, namely, Responsibility at the Centre.

Recently, at a meeting of the East India Association, a paper was read on the subject of the Federation by a responsible Indian statesman, and, in the course of the discussion that ensued, I made a few remarks about the difficulties that have newly arisen in that connection, difficulties which primarily relate to the attitude of the Paramount Power to radical changes in the internal administration of States. At the present moment there is a consensus of opinion in all quarters, be it the Congress Party or the State subjects in India and responsible British statesmen in this country, that some changes on democratic lines the precise nature of which being determined by local conditions, have to be introduced before a Federation can come into being. The *Times* correctly dismisses the objection of the Moslems

to the Federation on the flimsy ground that the Indian States' representatives to the federal constitutional assemblies will have a preponderance of Hindus and there will thus be an excessive Hindu influence at the Centre. That objection viewed correctly has no point for it applies to every kind of constitutional reform in a country where there are strong minorities. The real objection which has to be met and which has gained strength from day to day since provincial autonomy was introduced is that the nominees of the States will be no more than the mouthpieces of the autocrats. The *Times* gives prominence to the fact that the chief Indian States are efficiently governed, but this misses the main point of the argument against federation which is gaining considerable strength amongst the State subjects of the various States that the *Times* mentions, namely, Hyderabad, Mysore and Baroda. Does not the *Times'* article confuse the issues when in one breath it ridicules the Indian democrats for not agreeing to co-operate with autocracies and yet in the other it ignores the possibility of a sealed block, to quote its own terms, within the federal legislature to form a defensive alliance against democracy?

It is, however, correctly stated that the chief responsibility for the completion of the reforms lies with the Princes on the one hand and the political leaders of British India on the other. We have to see whether in the near future there is a probability

of any agreement being reached by these two on any rational basis taking things as they are at present. So far as the Princes are concerned, the main difficulty lies in the fact of Paramountcy behind which the Princes are taking shelter against any inroads of democracy into their States, for under Paramountcy which has crystallized itself for over a century in treaties with the Princes, the integrity of certain powers which the Princes together with their chief executive officers, Dewans or Prime Ministers as they are called, hold in trust for their successors and which to quote a very important political document of the Government of India, is the very basis of their treaty obligations to the Paramount powers. I have more than once pointed out, for the first time last April, in a letter to the *Times* that the treaties have to be revised. In spite of the responsible utterance of the Earl of Winterton in the House of Commons that the Princes can without any reference to the British Government introduce changes in their constitution, the question arises, who is to take the move first, the Princes or the Paramount Power. Till now, all the endeavours on the part of the Viceroy on the one hand and the Ministers of the Princes on the other, have been directed towards framing the Instruments of Accession. These, however have nothing to do with the internal administration of the States in respect of which the Princes exercise sovereign authority. This, the Princes

naturally would be disinclined to relinquish fearing that the thin wedge of democracy may make a radical inroad into their autocracies. The Paramountcy, on the other hand, as has been suspected by the Nationalists of India, would instinctively be inclined in order to give a stability to the Indian Parliaments at the Centre, to discourage the introduction of Responsible Government in the States. In this they may be right for in the act of blending two extreme political elements in India, one has to be cautious and conservative so as to create helpful conditions of a balanced constitution.

Turning now to the Congress Party, it is obvious that their objection is deep-rooted and it has got hold of the imagination of the State subjects, to a degree which is now almost causing deep anxiety even in the well-governed States mentioned by the *Times* in its article. Moreover, we have to take into account the concerted all-India agitation that is going to be launched forthwith on behalf of the Indian State subjects under the direction of the Nationalist leader, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

If therefore both sides to the problem take extreme views it stands to reason that Lord Linlithgow will fail to bring about a *rapprochement* between the parties and the Federal Plan will fail to materialize.

There is still another aspect of the question which so far has not had the attention that it deserves. The political situation in the country at the present

moment is in a state of flux. Whatever may be the professions of the Congress Party as regards democracy, its practice is distinctly totalitarian. The methods of establishing a central authority for controlling the policy of the provincial ministers has already caused alarm amongst other sections of the people not pledged to the Congress faith. Although in open declarations the Congress [representative] leaders show a distinct antipathy to the Fascist doctrines of Mussolini and Hitler, in their methods, they have at least through their younger followers a subconscious leaning towards a modified form of Fascism which will drive their organization, no matter what others think about it, into the dictatorial groove. It is admitted by Mr. Gandhi's own followers that he is the Dictator at present. We have, therefore, to foresee a struggle between democracy and dictatorship and there is no doubt that in course of time democracy will be defeated, for today democratic influences in India have not grown to the extent that they can successfully resist the attack of dictatorship against it. Taking the Princes on the other side, there is already a fight between democracy and autocracy, a fight which is likely to continue in unabated form during the next few years. In spite of all the talk about change in the methods of government in the Indian States, under the conditions that I have described above, is it at all likely that autocracy will be reasonably modified and join hands with

democracy in British India? My conviction is that with the aid of Paramountcy, autocracy will win and democracy will go to the wall. In this dual process of struggle between the three political movements in India, we shall find that dictatorship on the one hand and autocracy on the other will be the leading and surviving elements. Can anyone visualise how these two may in the future join hands to produce a federation for the whole of India in any shape or form? A contingency of such a nature is never likely to happen.

**“Wardha Scheme of Education”—Article in the
“Presidency College Magazine”, Calcutta
November 1938**

A Criticism

Mr. Gandhi starts with the assumption that English, having been made the medium of instruction in all the European branches of learning, has created a permanent barrier between the highly educated few and the uneducated many. He asserts that it has prevented knowledge from percolating to the masses, and has maimed the educated class mentally for life, and made them strangers in their own land.

It may perhaps be unknown to the present generation, especially as Mahatma Gandhi has made no reference whatsoever to it, that the controversy that he has now raised as between English education and the education through the medium of the vernaculars, is not a new one and it is not only unfortunate but also misleading, that no reference has been made to the past history of such controversy in India. What is there in his exposition in recognition of the fact that whatever India owes today in the field of politics, social reforms and even Nationalism is due almost entirely to the fight which was put up by the advocates of English education a hundred years ago, amongst whom Ram Mohan Roy was one of the most prominent? It was about that time in the early part of the nineteenth century, when the British

Government persuaded by the Orientalists, first sanctioned the establishment of a Sanskrit college. In those days all the different parts of India were divided by long distances, and also linguistically, politically and socially, more so than they are today. There was no question, for example, of organising the spread of a common language such as Hindi, for the whole of India. The major portion of India was still under indigenous rule, and the consolidation of the British Power in India, commencing from Fort Saint George in Madras, was only just commencing. At that time the people who were still conservative and jealous of their ancient culture were naturally more than they are today, anxious to preserve it against the encroachment that may be made by any foreign language, or Western ideals, heralded by the European race, namely the British, which finally succeeded in establishing their rule in the country. At that time, Ram Mohan Roy stood by the side of the introduction of English education, and declared himself as an Anglicist, although he was versed in no less than twenty-four different languages of the world, and was himself a renowned Sanskrit scholar, and fought with all the texts of the old Hindu scriptures, especially the Upanishads against idolatry and all the corrupt forms of later Hinduism, to establish the Monotheistic religion through the Brahmo Samaj. One would have expected a man of his calibre and extensive attainments to take the side of Sanskrit

against English, for no doubt his greatest work was religious reform, and that he did not expect to carry out with the aid of English, but with the aid of a knowledge of the Hindu scriptures and the spread of correct ideas of religion, based on the philosophy of the Upanishads, uncontaminated by anything that came from the West. At this juncture, therefore, it will not be unprofitable to go back a hundred years in the cultural history of India as a whole, and see for ourselves, what were the leading considerations of that period that finally persuaded the British Government to encourage English education, which they know, in the bottom of their hearts, would ultimately lead to their own political downfall.

Ram Mohan Roy wrote a letter to Lord Amherst, Governor-General in Council during the time when the controversy was at its height, on English education. I quote a few sentences from this letter. Referring to the establishment of a college in Calcutta he stated that it would enable the natives of India to be given education in Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Anatomy and Universal Sciences, which the natives of Europe have carried to a degree of perfection and which has raised them above the inhabitants of the other parts of the world. But he questioned the utility of establishing a Sanskrit school with Hindu pundits to impart such knowledge as is current in India. He said, "The pupils will there acquire what was known two thousand years ago

with the addition of vain and empty subtleties since then produced by speculative men."

In spite of all the prejudice thus prevailing against the introduction of English education, through the efforts of Ram Mohan Roy, the British Government established a Hindu College for English education in 1824. Those who have studied the history of education in India during the past century, know how after tremendous argument between the East India Company Directors and the Home Government, the controversy was finally settled by the famous dispatch of Sir Charles Wood who is the grandfather of the present Lord Halifax and who was then the Secretary of State for India. Through the early days of the Indian National Congress, this political document was considered to be a second Magna Charta of India after Queen Victoria had issued her Proclamation in 1858.

Can anyone deny that had the British Parliament then not ratified the policy of Sir C. Wood's dispatch, the political history of India today might have been quite different? Subsequent establishment of the Universities of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, and the spread of English education, involving the study of English political writers like John Stuart Mill, Locke, Hume and Herbert Spencer, philosophers and scientists too numerous to mention, created a new outlook, and, in fact, contributed to the formation of a united national consciousness, favouring the political

institutions of the West. Mahatma Gandhi now wishes to put the clock back a hundred years, perhaps overlooking the possibility that Democracy shall become the accepted political doctrine suitable for India's future growth as a nation. I propose in this article to examine his scheme which, coming as it does from such a disinterested party, must receive throughout the country a very venerable and almost subservient attention. But we must not forget facts nor can we overlook various technical difficulties which have marred the spread of education from want of foresight and historical perspective, even in the Western countries of the world. To put it briefly, the scheme contemplates the reversion to the mediæval period of history, ignoring the great currents that are flowing in between all the countries of the world today, brought about by the development of scientific knowledge, inventions, and a new National Economy in the field of production and distribution. Mr. Gandhi's scheme, in effect, is similar to the Charka, or the spinning wheel, as against factory industries. His advocacy of Hindi as the *lingua franca* of India is, metaphorically speaking, similar in character to his economic doctrine of the Charka, fully contemplating a return to the old primitive state of Hindu civilization and Hindu social and political conditions, ignoring altogether the divergent elements, which have now been created by the impact which India has had with the Western world,

for two hundred years, the results of which cannot be obliterated. It may be considered uncharitable for one to suppose that this is a plan in disguise to stop the tide of Democracy in India, and to give a place for Dictatorship or Autocracy as of old. This scheme is to be self-supporting, as explained by Mahatma Gandhi in the following terms: "Primary education extending over a period of seven years or longer, covering all the subjects up to the Matriculation standard, except English, a vocation used as the vehicle for addressing it to the minds of boys and girls in all departments of knowledge, should take the place of what passes today under the name of primary, middle and high school education. Such education must be self-supporting, in fact self-support is the acid test of its reality." He lays much emphasis on the principle handed down through the ages, not only through our own sages, but also Plato and Aristotle, that education should not have for its primary motive, earning one's living. He further makes the rather unpractical suggestion, that primary education should equip boys and girls to earn their bread by the State guaranteeing employment in the vocations learned, or by buying their manufactures at prices fixed by the State. As regards Universities, he says, higher education should be left to private enterprise and State Universities should be purely examining bodies, self-supporting from the fees charged for examinations.

These conceptions betray a conflict between two schools of thinking. First, those who advocate residential universities, of which India afforded the earliest example, and second, those who believe in examining machineries to turn out diploma and degree holders.

Let us consider for a few moments Mr. Gandhi's scheme in detail. It is based on the following principles: (1) The course of primary education should be extended at least to seven years, and should include the knowledge gained up to the Matriculation standard, less English and plus vocation. (2) Vocation should serve a double purpose, to enable the pupil to pay for his tuition through the product of his labour. (3) This primary education should equip boys and girls to earn their bread by the State guaranteeing employment in the vocation learned, or by buying their manufactures at prices fixed by the State. (4) Higher education should be left to private enterprises, the State universities should be purely examining bodies, self-supporting through the fees charged.

Anticipating objections, Mr. Gandhi has answered a few of them by saying, that although there will be wastage of raw materials, there will be gain by each pupil. The State must absorb products for its own requirements, and finally, great will be the demand of such things as do not come into unfair competition with any indigenous manufactures.

To make the scheme spectacular and rouse in the minds of the people a glowing picture of rural and urban reconstruction, Mr. Gandhi describes the ultimate results in the following words: "My plan to impart primary education through the medium of the village handicrafts, is conceived as the spear-head of a social revolution, fraught with the most far-seeing consequences. It will provide a healthy and moral base to the relationship between the city and the village, and thus go a long way towards eradicating some of the worst evils of the present social insecurity and poisoned relationship between the classes." It is not very clear how the city is to co-ordinate in this scheme of industrial revolution in rural parts. The first comprehensive criticism of Mr. Gandhi's proposals was made immediately after it was published, by a great authority on education, Dr. C. R. Reddy. He asked the question, namely, whether primary education should not be the concern of the State, seeing that it has a certain amount of citizenship value. Mr. Reddy touches the true notes when he foreshadows the possibility of Socialism as a practical doctrine in politics, bringing more of the public activities of the nation under Government direction and control, and in this opinion he does not differentiate between the responsibilities devolving on the Government under (1) Primary education, and (2) University, Agricultural, Engineering and other technological institutions, also research work. I shall

not dwell on the controversy regarding the substitution of Hindi for English as the mother-tongue. Raising the voice of doubt in regard to the very foundation of Mr. Gandhi's scheme, Mr. Reddy certainly does not agree to the view that university education and higher studies should be left entirely to private enterprise.

Let us take the opinion of another education expert, who is the Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University. He says the theory that education can and should be entirely self-supporting by the sale of the products of child labour is untenable, and the inevitable result would be that the child would come to be treated merely as a producer and not as a personality; furthermore, the scheme implies that the teachers should be contented to carry on their work for little or no money. Recently at the convocation of the Mysore University a distinguished Madras educationist made some pregnant observations which are very relevant to the present subject. I record a few from his address: "I am not among those who believe that the system of education operated in 1835, and developed in the course of the century, was an unredeemed failure. It is futile to speculate what we should have been if the opposite school had won in 1835. It is conceivable that we should have been worse." Then again, he says, "The complete replacement of a living foreign tongue by the mother-tongue is an efficient instrument of

national culture in all the departments of national life and culture, and yet the obstacles in the way of making it such an instrument are appallingly great and almost insuperable."

Before I discuss the particular point, namely, the abolition of the English language as the medium of instruction throughout the country, it would be well to go back again to a period, when the British policy regarding higher education for Indians, a century ago, decided to introduce Western education in English as against Oriental scholarship. According to Bentinck and Macaulay, English civilisation was sound, Hindu civilisation had various defects; for the administration and development of the country, English-knowing natives were required. When the final settlement of 1835 was made Macaulay hoped, optimistically, for the day when the "educated Indian would be English in taste, opinions, and morals, and the English connection with India would thereby be firmly and for ever established."

We have already remarked in a previous paragraph in this article, that the British statesmen who made such a decision, never anticipated that English education, in the space of a century, would bring such a tremendous change in the moral and mental outlook of the people and would make them acquire the attitude of governing themselves, by the study of Political Science, Political Economy, and all the connected modern works relating to Democracy and

Parliamentary Institutions. In spite of the British connection being firmly established, to the great disappointment, no doubt, of those who came in later years, it was found that there was a growing feeling in the country for the severance of that connection, and for independence, a political creed which has now been officially adopted by the Indian National Congress. But we must give credit to the Empire builders of England of that period, to the extent that at least two of the most famous in British Indian history, namely, Sir Thomas Munro and Lord Macaulay, did foresee as a result of that policy a change in the character of the Indian peoples, "to such an extent as to make them able to govern and protect themselves." These words are quoted from Munro's Minutes. Let us now turn to Macaulay. He was more emphatic than that, and his famous words, often quoted by Indian politicians, are worth repeating in this connection. He said, "Having become instructed in European knowledge, our Indian subjects may, in some future age, demand European institutions," and he added, "whether such a day will ever come, I know not, but never will I attempt to avert or retard it: whenever it comes, it will be the proudest day in English history." The Indian cannot for a moment deny that the result of English education and the products of that education amongst the various groups of peoples in different provinces are such that, politically and educationally,

India has small cause for shame. Now, therefore, in spite of the fact that Western learning has encouraged the growth of Nationalism so that India can work out her political destiny for herself, we are now asked by the greatest political leader of the day to go back another hundred years and avoid everything Western with the main object of resuscitating village life, right from the bottom, and set up an educational system purely on the basis of guilds, thus indirectly perhaps bring about the re-establishment of a kind of class system, for all the various arts and crafts of India. The industrial condition for the production of commodities required by the Indian peoples of all creeds must necessarily create groups both in rural and urban areas, which may not all have the same standard of education, or the same political outlook and will thus be divided in interests.

Only three decades ago, as the chief executive head of the Government of Cochin, which by the way stands foremost in point of literacy in the whole of India, I formulated a scheme of education, which was improved in regard to its technical details by the great educationist, John Vansomeran Pope, whose services I obtained for a period for this special work. The main point outlying that scheme was that education should no longer be a kind of a hallmark for securing Government appointments. It was incumbent upon the people of India, especially

the Cochin subjects of the Maharajah, to so educate themselves as to make them able to develop the resources of their own country. By this process the whole problem of unemployment would solve itself, and the educated classes would not consider the Government Services as the sole aim of their life's ambition. Vocational teaching was to be provided for by the new policy of Government, not only to develop cottage industries, but also by subsidy and pioneering to encourage capitalists to use their money, often hoarded and lying idle, for the purpose of production. This does not often happen because education was, for the most part, literary, and not practical, and secondly because the wealthier classes who had the capital, were too timid and often when they had modern ideas, they could not find competent men to initiate and work out their industrial schemes. The State therefore decided to raise the standard of industrial and technical education in all grades, and to initiate and invigorate the industrial policy, hoping that in course of time the people who are intelligent and the people who are wealthy could be brought together to bring about an industrial revolution throughout the country. It is a matter of common knowledge, that that policy has secured remarkable results in Cochin as well as in Mysore, where, untrammelled by any kind of old tradition regarding the spread of technical education, the rulers have been able to carry out their policy to

suit the conditions of their own countries in a remarkable degree.

The idea of making education self-supporting is, to say the least, fantastic, apart from the objections which have already been pointed out by education experts. Pupils under training should not from the earliest stages be imbued with the idea that they must make something to pay for the training they are receiving. This means the commercialisation of education, which is foreign to Indian traditions, not only amongst the Hindus, but also amongst the Moslems. In one sense, however, it may be argued that whereas on the one hand Gandhi wants to go back a hundred years and introduce mediæval methods and guilds, and re-establish a kind of industrial caste system, he on the other hand wants to introduce a new theory of political economy in the field of education, according to which education should be pursued for a living. Is not that a purely Western idea in all the civilised countries at the present time? By giving publicity to such an ideal surely Mahatma Gandhi forgets the spiritual tradition of the people of India, and the great havoc the present-day material educational policy is causing in all the Fascist and Communist countries of the world, which are basing their whole system of education on no other principle than industrial production and Economic Nationalisation, neither of which, by the way, has to any appreciable extent solved the crucial

problem of unemployment amongst the younger generation.

Can we ignore the fact that English education and Western culture, founded on true Eastern traditions, produced during the last hundred years some of the greatest men in the field of science, literature, politics and national economy? Only a few names need be mentioned: Gokhale, A. M. Bose (the first English Cambridge Wrangler), Tilak, Sir J. C. Bose, Dr. P. C. Ray, Sir C. V. Raman, Professor Radha Krishnan, Poet Tagore, Surendra Nath Banerjee and Lal Mohan Ghose. We have sent some of our best men to European Universities to secure the highest distinctions in the standards of Western education. What would have been the fate of these master-minds? Would they have gone to the front if they had no English education? Did not all who took the lead in the development of national life sit at the feet of Western scholars, which made them assimilate comparative methods of study? Is it not a fact that now we have dispensed with Western agencies in our universities and technical colleges for the most part, because our young men having been trained in European and American centres of education have returned to take a lead in imparting education in the various faculties of learning, following modern methods? This movement cannot be abruptly terminated. In fact, it has to be continued for our young men to be fully trained in the Army, Navy,

Air Force and in all the branches of national defence. This should not be confused with any movement towards the spread of mass education. The problem of mass education on a compulsory basis has its peculiar difficulties in India. Once our Government is nationalised, there will no doubt be any hankering after English education in the primary standards. It is an admitted fact that everywhere the demand for English teachers in the primary schools in villages has been insistent throughout, but now with this nationalistic tendency to make vernaculars as the medium of instruction, the aim of a united India through a common language can be only Utopian; in fact the result will be that India will be broken up and divided into separate political units on a linguistic basis. How far such a result will be consistent with the goal of independence for India, as a whole, is a moot question. Furthermore, what about text-books, even in a proposed common language like Hindi? And what about the supply of suitable teachers? It will take years for a province like Madras to get Hindi teachers amongst the Tamil and Telugu population, and in compact, homogeneous States like Mysore, where Kannada is the language, it will be impossible to substitute it as a compulsory language within even a generation.

It is hardly necessary to emphasise that the English language is the largest spoken in the whole world today, and who knows within another hundred

years, if the Esperanto propagandists fail in their attempt to produce a common speaking language for the whole world, as they are bound to do, English will become, with many local variations, the universal language. Take the example of the United States of America. The nation consists of people drawn from various nationalities of Europe. These nationalities whether they be German, Swedes, French, Italians, or Slavs, still continue to speak their own native language within their own homes, but English is the common language of the country, the language of the newspapers, the language of the court, the language of the constitutional assemblies, in fact the language for every human activity throughout the country. As separate linguistic tendencies have not been crushed by such a process, why can it not therefore be supposed that when India becomes a Federation of States, the only logical outcome of her political emancipation will be the definite adoption of English as the common language of the country, as in America, leaving the provincial languages of which there are distinctly nine in number, to have their full play in their respective linguistic tracts. By such a process of decentralisation, it will be possible for such tracts to develop according to their own traditional lines. Education in the vernacular has already been brought to the highest limit and there is more chance of mass education spreading through the guidance of the intelligentsia, who will then be

able to devote their energies towards the interpretation of the West to the East with the aid of suitable text-books in the provincial vernacular on a cosmopolitan basis. These will then become competent agencies to prepare suitable vernacular text-books which, we all know, are still not forthcoming, although the attempt has continued for nearly a century. Politically speaking also, it will be most difficult for the different parts of India to work altogether for the common good, if each Province or State conducts their deliberations in their respective languages in their Parliaments. There will be no interchange of political ideas or industrial and economic co-operation between one part of India and another, without English as the medium of expression through the press and public speaking throughout the length and breadth of India.

The whole question, therefore, thus appears to an unprejudiced observer to be a most complicated one and before the present system of education is tampered with, or revolutionised through the political pressure of a majority in the Indian Parliament, serious thought must be bestowed on any drastic schemes, such as that of Mr. Gandhi. Public opinion has to be tested, in fact a referendum embodying a definite set of interrogatories has to be circulated amongst all the educationists of India, selected for the four grades of education, namely, University, Higher and Middle School and Elementary.

Religion and moral progress present many other problems for reaching a sound settlement. India today shows more religious intolerance amongst groups and sub-groups comprised within them between the two main religions, Hindu and Moslem. Is it possible that India can be united politically under the proposed scheme of education, directed towards economical industrialism right from the bottom overlooking religious and sectarian animosities amongst the people? Is it not reasonable to conjecture that in pursuing a commercial and materialistic scheme, which in fact it is, India will only be following the example of Bolshevik Russia, where anti-religious propaganda is the foundation of the methods of the Soviet to train the young? Can it have ever been conceived that India will lose her religiousness, however divergent that spirit may be? I concede that if a Hindu is no longer a Hindu, or a Moslem no longer a Moslem in spirit, rigidly adhering to his own rituals and observances, it will be possible to standardise education on a commercial basis, thereby divorcing education from culture and from moral progress. How far such a divorce is conducive to national growth, is a question to which there can be only one answer.

I have already made a reference to the question of supply of teachers. My experience during those years in which I was in charge of the education portfolio in Cochin and Mysore clearly shows that the

main difficulty in India in respect of any scheme of industrial education of the masses lies in the fact that we have no training institutions for teachers of industrial schools in villages, and many of the schools which started with the view to carry out the policy of teaching village arts and crafts, had to be closed down for want of such teachers. Mr. Gandhi's comprehensive scheme makes no provision for giving vocational education for school teachers during the seven years of the Elementary and the Middle School period.

There is yet another aspect which cannot be overlooked, namely, girls' education and education for adult women. There is no suggestion for the remodelling of girls' schools in rural and urban areas which are increasing rapidly, and it is not clear whether in the case of such schools Mr. Gandhi's plan will equally apply. In other words, will the girls during the course of their training also have to pay for their education by the sale of the articles which they make under the vocational system?

It is possible that these are considered to be matters of detail to be discussed later, but it cannot be denied that the administrative problems in the field of education are closely connected with the supply of qualified teachers in every grade, both for boys and girls, and secondly, the supply of trained industrialists, who can be considered competent to advise on the management of industrial schools, also

on the development of cottage, home and other industrial concerns.

Taking, therefore, the scheme under discussion both in its general aspects as well as in detail, it seems to any one having some knowledge of the difficulties in India, that we should proceed with caution so that firstly, any system of education adopted has a guarantee of financial support to make it sound; it is not forced by theoretical doctrines upon the people, who are still in a state of transition pulled between two forces concurrently driving them in opposite directions, one arising from the spiritual, the other from the material aspirations of the culture of the East and West. Thirdly, it is more incumbent upon the framer of any new schemes to see to the security of the nation as a whole, socially, politically and economically not to leave out national defence, and to aim at that solidarity which can only be founded on a comprehensive planning embracing industrial, moral and literary education, stage by stage, through the medium of the languages of the various linguistic tracts in the first instance, and in the secondary stages through the medium of a common language for the whole of India which must be English, as the most convenient and useful medium. In the secondary stage, the whole agency of control and supervision of education should be entrusted to an All-India Service. The harmonising of the principle of centralisation on the one hand in

higher grades, and decentralisation on the other in the lower grades, seem to be the only practical solution of the present difficulty. It will also ensure the growth of a united Indian nation and at the same time provide facilities and opportunities for the development of a fine literature in the provincial vernaculars on modern lines, in each linguistic tract, thereby enabling the peoples to work out their own destiny in their own spheres to the best of their opportunity, in accordance with their varied local conditions which are so dissimilar in the different parts of the Indian Sub-Continent.

**Speech as Chairman at the Caxton Hall, London,
Meeting to Discuss "How to Conquer Fear"
May 1939**

The first question that arises is what is fear. In the animal world it is an instinct of protection and self-preservation. It is also a herd instinct implanted by nature for the propagation of species amongst elephants, bison, deer. The main factor of life is running away from danger, an escape from those species who live on others in the lower grade of the same group or other types of living beings which constitute the chief source of their living.

Sensibility and fear go together, in other words—while there is life there is fear; it is a fundamental factor. Even man, supreme animal in creation, from primitive stages of civilisation to the twentieth century which has developed the machine age, scientific inventions and other contrivances to ward off the dangers and havocs of destruction caused by nature, "red in tooth and claw", has instinctive fear of danger and death. Religious superstition, witchcraft, propitiation ceremonies for rain and against the inroad of epidemics such as smallpox, are cases in point. Belief in astrology, palmistry indicate another form of fear and shows a desire to avert misfortunes and dangers. Montaigne in one of his essays says, "many people who in their prickings of fear have hanged or drowned themselves or hurled themselves from a precipice have plainly

thought it that it is even more importunate and more insupportable than death".

Man in the process of his evolution has developed a higher consciousness which is superior to instinct and yet he is also governed by fear. Religion and fear are closely connected. The concept of heaven and hell, eternal punishment, social conduct and punishment such as ex-communication from the group for breaking social and customary laws, administration of deterrent punishment, all are founded on fear. As Emerson says, "for non-conformity the world whips you with its displeasure". This causes fear.

Even in education, fear plays an important part. An undergraduate is mortally afraid of being sent down from Oxford or Cambridge when the Proctor sees him doing something against the University laws. Relationship between pupil and teacher is partly based on fear from displeasure or punishment. In every kind of services, whether Government or otherwise, sense of authority is governed by fear. The superior always plays on that sense of fear over his inferior in position to establish his authority and enforce it. The fear of party discipline governs political institutions, fear of loss of respectability, of prestige, of job or of power, governs human conduct. Even suicides are prompted by fear.

The second question—will it do to eliminate fear or, in other words, inculcate the system of discipline to conquer fear, so long as we live in time and space

and have our external and internal environments to contend with? If fear is eliminated by self-discipline in all human endeavours and activities, will not there be chaos, disorder and licence unless a substitute is found within our internal environment? Fear is due to our external environment. Conquest of fear means that we either ignore it as co-existent with the functioning of our senses of seeing, hearing, touching, etc., or we cease to feel its impact by deadening those senses. In the former case we lack in adaptation and may perish as a species in the physical world. In the latter case we create an insensibility due to the power of the mind, which Robert Linch says, "makes men giants". This ought to make up for physical deficiencies or adaptation of the body to its physical environments in which it lives and has its being, but is this ideal of conquest of fear suitable for the community of men or nations? Is it not true to say that such a stage of mind is possible only in the case of individuals when a man has reached the final stage, *i.e.*, forsaken the world and has no fear of death? Was it not the Greek philosopher Democritus who thought he was doing great service to the human kind by liberating it from the oppression of two great fears—the fear of God and the fear of death? The Chinese philosopher, Lin Yutang, commenting on this, said, "But even that does not liberate us from another equally universal fear—the fear of one's neighbours".

The third question is, will conquest of fear not lead to inaction? Will it encourage the spirit of sacrifice and redemption which, I believe, are some of the fundamental principles of Yoga? As I understand Yoga, with my limited study and experience, it is based on Buddhi, which is characterised by certainty of knowledge, and knowledge is its final goal. I find the following explanation in one of the commentaries of the Upanishads on this point:

“We are told that Understanding (Buddhi) performs all sacrifice and sacred acts; but, as the special characteristic of Buddhi is knowledge, it is said that ‘those who have sought the Self by penance, abstinence and knowledge (all characteristic of Buddhi) gain the hope of the spirits, the immortal, ... from whence they do not return; for it is the end’.”

Fear in human beings can be conquered only by Yoga which is harmony in body and mind and union of the spirit with God.

A New Union of Three Isms !
Article from "Looking Ahead in War Time"

A Pamphlet

Published in March 1940

In that striking book *Europe on the Eve*, by Frederick L. Schuman, some scathing criticisms have been made in the article "Peace by Purchase". The writer says that the foreign policy of Britain's "National Government" since 1931 has been a mystery to most observers. The rulers of Britain, according to him, lived under the shadow of a great fear, namely, a social revolution from below, which would seek to abolish nobilities, plutocracies and priesthoods.

They therefore viewed with alarm all propensities on the part of the lower social orders to limit or assail the privileges of their superiors, whether in the name of Democracy, Socialism, Syndicalism, Communism, "People's Front" or merely "Social Democracy" or "Labour". They viewed with approval all devices which would promote "order, hierarchy, discipline" and cause the masses to respect and obey the classes.

Analysing the policy further, the writer said that the British attitude towards the Russian Revolution was the same as that of Edmund Burke towards France in 1793. Great Britain stood for religion, morality and property, whereas the Russian Revolution stood for atheism, immorality, murder and theft.

A striking passage was quoted by the writer from Emerson's *English Traits* which may with advantage be reproduced here.

"Truth in private life, untruth in public, marks these home-loving men. Their political conduct is not decided by general views, but by internal intrigues and personal and family interests. They cannot readily see beyond England. The History of Rome and Greece, when written by their scholars, degenerates into English party pamphlets. They cannot see beyond England, nor in England can they transcend the interests of the governing classes. 'English principles' mean a primary regard to the interests of property....

The foreign policy of England, though ambitious and lavish of money, has not often been generous or just. It has a principal regard for the interest of trade, checked however by the aristocratic bias of the ambassador, which usually puts him in sympathy with the continental Courts. It sanctioned the partition of Poland, it betrayed Genoa, Sicily, Pragma, Greece, Turkey, Rome and Hungary...

Their mind is in a state of arrested development — a divine cripple like Vulcan, a blind savant like Hübner and Sanderson. They do not occupy themselves on matters of general and lasting import, but on a corporeal civilisation, on goods that perish in the using.... There is cramp limitation in their habit of thought, sleepy routine, and a tortoise's instinct to hold hard to the ground with his claws, lest he should be thrown on his back. There is drag of inertia which resists reform in every shape."

These striking criticisms I have quoted to indicate the lowest depth to which British prestige had sunk since the Munich Settlement of 1938 by Chamberlain which was given the new vague description of "appeasement". Many critics think that Britain was fundamentally wrong in giving "the cold shoulder" to Russia at that time. Many others were convinced that the attempt to arrive at a pact with Russia, which failed under the cunning diplomacy of Molotov, was a distinct blow to British prestige. At all events, Great Britain stood aloof from Bolshevism, and continuously flirted with Fascism of Italy, and all the intrigue connected with the Non-Intervention Committee that was dealing with the Civil War in Spain showed that there was no sincerity of purpose in regard to all the apparent opposition to Franco's struggle with the National Republican Armies of Spain. As regards Germany, there was no doubt about the open hostility of Britain to Nazism.

Now, after the commencement of the present European war, Great Britain stands at the parting of the ways, having openly declared her intention to crush Nazism in Germany without saying anything precise or definite about Communism and Fascism. No war is declared against Russia although they are aggressors in Finland. England is afraid to offend Italy, and Italy is afraid to offend England, whereas both are indirectly working together for a Fascistic

policy in regard to all matters of domestic concern. It would be strange indeed if any great prophet could now foretell that the three isms may, in the near future, come into a line.

Could anyone have believed that Communism, Fascism and Nazism could come in a line at any stage during the history of Europe after sinking their inherited differences with the main object of fighting for their own selfish interests? What has brought about such *rapprochement*?—Everyone is asking this question. Is it not true, as a writer in a letter to the press said recently, that the British Diplomacy is almost on the verge of bankruptcy? Why are we so slow to move? Why have we not got fit representatives with a powerful personality to go, not merely ask questions to gain information, but put forward concrete suggestions for the peace of the world. Is it not true that the English people, listening to the glorious call of disinterested services to mankind, are afraid to declare what they feel from the bottom of their hearts, that they also have enormous vested interests for the protection of their huge empire? Neither Russia nor Germany, nor even Italy, will enter into negotiations, or in the future become a party to any international conference, unless their own interests are put right in the foreground. We, in England, pose as the custodians of National independence, love of liberty, and expect everyone to come to us with those ideals uppermost

in their minds and try and make London the centre for all such discussions. We expect everyone to come to us. Can England and France under the present state of world politics defend democracy in Europe against the formidable combination of Communism, Fascism and Nazism? Fundamentally speaking, the method of all these systems of government are the same. The ideology may be different but the people under the influence of these governments have to be kept constantly on the move. No static political condition can be allowed but a dynamic process by which the country is marched from stage to stage to the feed for power and conquest. You may call it opportunism, greed, lust, political brutality, anything you like, but each one of these does get a move on for its own aggrandisement. The question is, how can they all be stopped when they are combined with the purpose of dividing up the spoils of their policy of brutalist expansion, disregarding frontiers and the independence of smaller nations? Is it worth while sacrificing millions of young lives simply for an ideal? Is it not possible to get into grip with at least one of these powerful countries, and I here say Russia or Italy, to make it worth their while to resist Nazi aggression, for, after all, this latter has only one supreme end, and that is to conquer the whole of Europe through armed force.

Communism in Russia does want to conquer the Western world through the spread of Communism

doctrines. Who knows that one day Great Britain will swing round to Communism in some form or other. Will it not be then too late to stem the tide of such a movement if all English people do not think that it is not suitable for their own country, nor for the British Empire? Even Communism in Russia is undertaking radical changes every year, not only in its methods, but in its theories. Russia has to be taken into account and when we failed once in getting into grip with her at the time of the Czechoslovakian invasion by Germany, should we now, having lost our friendship, which under ordinary circumstances was not easy to gain, having regard to the past relationship between the two countries, hope by negotiation to keep her at least at bay so that she cannot turn openly against us as an ally of Germany or proceed in the direction of Central Asia to cause trouble to Great Britain's connection with India on which her present and future prosperity largely depends.

NOTE

This article was written within six months of the outbreak of the war with Germany on September 3, 1939 and after the Russo-German Treaty of September 29, 1939, and soon after the Russo-German invasion of Poland during that month. This was printed and published in my pamphlet "Looking Ahead in War Time" before Italy joined the Axis in June 1940.